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INSTITUTIONAL ACT ON ANTISUBVERSIVE FIGHT

PY290355 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2339 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Apr (TELAM) -- The Military Junta has made it law, through an Institutional Act, that all the operations that were carried out against terrorism were in accordance with plans that were approved and supervised by the commands of the armed forces and by the Military Junta as of the time of its creation.

The act, which only has two articles, was approved in view of the final document on the war against subversion and terrorism that was drafted by the Military Junta and released tonight.

It indicates that all the operations against subversion and terrorism were carried out by the armed forces and security, police and penitentiary forces under operational control in compliance with what is provided for in Decrees 261/75, 2,771/75 and 2,772/75 and that they were carried out in accordance with plans approved and supervised by the high commands of the armed forces and by the Military Junta as of the time of its creation.

The second article refers to the act's implementation. It must be pointed out that the four decrees that are mentioned in the abovementioned act were approved during the constitutional government headed by Mrs Maria Estela Martinez de Peron.

Junta Antisubversion Document

PY282145 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1710 GMT 28 Apr 83

["Final Document of the Military Junta on the Struggle Against Subversion and Terrorism" issued on 28 April 1983 by the Argentina Military Junta -- embargoed until 0115 GMT 29 April]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Apr (NA) -- The "Final Document of the Military Junta on the Struggle Against Subversion and Terrorism", which is 28 pages long, reads as follows:

I - Introduction

The Military Junta hereby presents to all citizens a picture of the development of terrorist aggression throughout almost two decades and by doing so, the armed forces assumes their share of the historical responsibility to the nation in the planning and implementation of antisubversive actions. However, they do not assume the responsibility that other government branches, national sectors and institutions must accept.

This report on a painful period of the recent past strives to be a message of faith and recognition of the struggle for freedom, justice, and the right to life.

The time has come to confront the future; it will be necessary to heal the wounds that are caused by war; it will be necessary to confront with a Christian spirit the period that we are undertaking and to look to the future with sincere humility.

This document is mainly addressed to us, the people of the nation; victims of an aggression never deserved and invaluable participants and supporters of the final victory. The document is also addressed to all men of the free world to which, in keeping with its historical tradition, our republic has belonged and will continue to belong.

We, hereby, submit to the Argentine people and the world an experience that should never be repeated in this country again in the hope that with the grace of God, the brothers of our Americas and the peoples of other continents will learn, understand and avoid such an experience.

The Facts

In the mid-sixties, Argentina began to undergo a terrorist aggression, which through the use of violence, tried to implement a political plan aimed at subverting the moral and ethical values that are upheld by the majority of Argentines.

This plan strove to change the belief that our community has regarding man, and state by taking over power through violent means.

By resorting to terror as a means to take power, this plan had the objective of destroying the republic as a democratic, judicially, and politically, organized state at the national and continental level.

Initially, the aggression took the form of rural guerrilla actions but it failed in its efforts. The defeat of this plan in a neighboring country resulted in a change of strategy at the continental level in which Argentina became one of thepriority objectives of international terrorist action.

Within this context, urban terrorism acquired greater importance. Armed robberies, bank robberies, kidnappings, extortions, increasing assassinations made the public aware of the criminal actions perpetrated by the three most powerful terrorist groups. "The Revolutionary Armed Forces," the "Revolutionary People's Army" and the "Monteneros."

The nation was at war; testimony to this were the clashes between opposing groups in the locality of Ezeiza on 20 June 1973, which ended in a real massacre. At that time, the government could not find out either the total number or the identification of the dead and wounded.

Later, terrorists attempted unsuccessfully to seize the Army Medical Corps headquarters on 6 September 1973 and the Azul Garrison, one of the most powerful units in the country, on 19 January 1974.

Amid that general atmosphere of insecurity and confusion, the advent of General Peron to the presidency with the support of a wide majority of the constituency seemed to afford a feasible alternative of peace and order on the national political horizon. However, terrorism did not slacken during the constitutional government. To the contrary, the criminal nature of its objectives and methods were definitively confirmed.

The officials and leaders who understood the magnitude of the problem attempted, even at the risk of their lives, to stop the terrorist takeover of the government and of intermediary organizations. Business and union leaders provided a clear example and a painful testimony of the risk run by those who opposed terrorists.

In 1974, during the Labor Day celebration held in Plaza de Mayo, the president of the nation charged that the Montoneros were infiltrated mercenaries and condemned them publicly.

Terrorist gangs continued to optimize their organization. They set up printing houses, where they forged identification papers and underground plants, where they manufactured arms and bombs. These activities were undertaken with sound financial support resulting from their criminal actions.

Their insidious actions led thousands of youngsters astray. Many of them, still in their adolescence, were recruited by terrorist groups that resorted to various means of persuasion or just to threats. Many of them died during clashes with security forces, some committed suicide to avoid being captured; others deserted and had to hide from the authorities and members of their own groups. The so-called "revolutionary penal codes" sentenced to death those who tried to drop out the terrorist ranks upon realizing that they had been recruited thorugh deception.

Security and order no longer existed. The phase of selective murders was followed by one of indiscriminate terrorism, thus creating victims in all sectors of the Argentine society. In early 1975, as a last resort to preserve the values at stake, the constitutional government decided to decree a state of siege throughout the country and ordered the armed forces' intervention in order to neutralize and/or wipe out the terrorist center which was based in Tucuman Province and operated from there.

That government could not overlook its responsibilities and the challenge to the armed forces was unprecedented since its institutional doctrine, structure and deployment was only suited to conventional struggle. The mistakes and deficiencies at the beginning of the nonconventional struggle were gradually overcome with the experience gained throughout the development of the operations. Once the terrorists groups were defeated in Tucuman they reinforced and increased their actions in the large urban areas.

The operations carried out by the terrorists' armed groups, because of their magnitude, resources and procedures gradually attained a level similar to that of the operations carried out by the regular forces. The most ambitious attempts to take over military units took place in 1975. On 19 April, the terrorists tried to occupy the San Lorenzo Arsenal Battallion; on 5 October, the Formosa 29th Forest Rangers Regiment; on 23 December, the Monte Chingolo Arsenal Battallion which was the largest urban terrorism operation in history.

The defeats suffered during these important clashes showed the terrorist leaders the need to resort to their original tactics, which were based on actions carried out by cells or individually. A never-ending sequel of deaths, kidnappings and attacks plagued the republic's peace and its inhabitants' security for 3 long years.

The terrorist attacks spread out to all sectors of the community. Attacks against the people, against public and private property became an everyday practice. The newspapers of those times show evidence that this situation had become part of the country and its inhabitants' everyday way of life. Those who have experienced and endured this situation are the witnesses of what happened.

During the struggle against terrorism, the legal forces uncovered innumerable underground prisons, which the terrorist groups called "people's jails." In addition to having lodged citizens of all classes who, at times, were murdered right there, these jails were also used to punish and "execute" members of the terrorist groups themselves.

Using figures to gain a clear idea of the terrorist actions it is appropriate to mention that in 1974 the following actions were recorded: 21 attempts to seize police and armed forces units; 466 attacks with explosives and 16 robberies netting large amounts of money; 117 kidnappings and 110 murders.

The year 1976 marked the maximum escalation of violence: Kidnappings increased to 600 and murders to 646, with an average of two victims of terrorism a day.

There were 4,150 terrorist actions including seizure of property, armed propaganda actions, extortion and explosives attacks.

An analysis of the news files between 1973 and 1979 shows that during that period, in 742 confrontations, 2,050 persons were killed, a figure which does not include casualties of the legal forces.

Between 1969 and 1979, 21,642 terrorist actions were recorded. This figure shows the magnitude of the subversive structure, which in its peak moment, had 25,000 subversives, of which 15,000 were combatants, that is, individuals technically capable and ideologically fanaticized to kill.

The nature and characteristics of this form of unexpected, systematic and continuous attacks have forced the adoption of unusual procedures in the war against subversives: a strict control had to be imposed on the information related to military actions, their achievements, the developing operations and the searches carried out.

It was absolutely necessary not to alert the subversives, not to reveal our intentions, thus recovering the initiative and the surprise factor in the operations, which up to that moment had been in the hands of the subversives.

During all these operations, it was practically impossible to establish the exact number of casualties sustained by the terrorist groups and the identification of their members.

This was so even when their bodies were left in the battle place, given the fact that they were acting under false names and with aliases known as "war names" and also because their organization, their modus operandi and the distribution of their actions had made it impossible to have a full panorama of events.

The efforts made by the armed forces, security and police forces to establish peace and order yielded progressive results. Terrorist aggression declined gradually and the Argentine society began to recover lost ground as far as peace and security were concerned.

As they realized that their defeat was drawing near, the leaders and some members of the terrorist bands began to abandon the country, leaving behind other members, even to protect their flight in some cases.

A painful and difficult period thus culminated in a victory which is, in effect, a defeat of the violent.

It is so because the Argentine society remained steadfast to its traditions, true to its conscience, and firm in its decision. For each sector of Argentine society, the subversives prepared and used different methods to destroy, dominate or paralyze it. But they failed because the methods went against the firmest values of a peaceful and free people.

III. Principles and Procedures

Effectively preserving and maintaining the exercises of the rights and guarantees which the Constitution grants to all the nation's inhabitants -- that is the safeguarding of human rights -- is the fundamental objective of the security of a democratic state such as Argentina, by its historical, political and juridical tradition.

This concept of security also calls for protecting the inviolability of that state's territory against external and internal threats, and for ensuring the normal functioning of its government within a legal framework.

The National Constitution provides for the adoption of mechanisms, which temporarily suspend individual rights and guarantees whenever situations of real danger pose serious perils for the common good and the nation's security.

Because of the special conditions which prevailed in the country during this period of terrorist aggression, the essential elements of the state were affected in such a way that its very survival was at stake.

The exercise of human rights was left at the mercy of the selective or indiscriminate violence set loose by the terrorists' actions, such as murders, kidnappings, "revolutionary trials," forced expatriations, and demands for cash contributions.

In large areas of the country, subversive groups acted brazenly with all impunity, while Argentina and foreign terrorists carrying false documents or by-passing existing control posts were crisscrossing the country's borders.

The government's ability to act was seriously jeopardized by infiltrated terrorists and due to the political vacuum which followed President Peron's death.

The laws passed by the nation's Congress to specifically and severely punish subversive activities and terrorist acts, and the declaration of a state of siege proved insufficient to control the situation.

At that crucial moment in history, the armed forces were called in by the constitutional government to confront subversion. This request was implemented through two resolutions:

Through Decree No 261 of 5 February 1975, which orders "the execution of necessary military operations to neutralize and/or liquidate subversive actions in Tucuman Province."

Through Decree No 2,772 of 6 October 1975, which orders "the execution of the necessary military and security operations to liquidate subversive actions throughout the country."

In seeking the welfare of the people, the government, through this legal mandate, and the armed forces, sought to reestablish the rights of all the country's inhabitants and the essential conditions that guarantee the inviolability of our territory and social coexistence and, thus, strengthen the capability and functioning of the government.

The nature and characteristics of terrorist actions, which were organized through the cell and unit system, led to the adoption of hitherto known procedures.

The eventual deterioration of the state's ethics and the need for safeguarding it was taken into account when the decision for the frontal, definitive and victorious attack against subversion and terrorism was made, in spite of the risk that it would be accuse of subscribing to untenable totalitarian theories regarding security.

The armed forces and security and police forces acted in defense of the national community, whose essential rights were not guaranteed. They did not directly use their powe against innocent third parties as the subversives did, even when these third parties ma have indirectly suffered.

These types of actions were the consequences of evaluations that had to be made with the fight in full swing, with that measure of passion that combat and self-defense generate, in an atmosphere in which innocent blood was shed daily, an atmosphere of destruction, and with a society where panic reigned. Within this framework -- which wa close to being apocalyptic -- errors were committed, which, as happens in any armed confrontation, could have, at times, overstepped the limits of respect for fundamental human rights, and which are subject to the judgment of God in each individual case and to the understanding of the human being.

This was why, with the express or tacit approval of the majority of the population and many times with its invaluable cooperation, these forces operated against terrorism in an organized way and under their regular and superior commands.

Consequently, everything that took place was carried out in compliance with the appropriate orders of each service.

In recent history it is not easy to find a precedent such as the one that was faced by Argentina. Therefore, the unprecedented, exceptional and extreme [situations] are true although they are not intended to avert blame.

The people involved in those actions that, as a consequence of the operational methods, could have led to irregular incidents and which have been detected, have been judged an punished by councils of war.

It is the wish of the armed forces that this painful experience should make our people aware, so that all Argentines can search for the appropriate methods along with the democratic spirit of our ethical institutions, that will ensure, with undeniable legitimacy, the defense against any type of danger that will lead to disruption through violence and terror.

IV Consequences of the Conflict

Because of its duration and its geographical extension, this conflict shook the whole country. Since any area of our territory could suddenly turn into a battlefield, and any inhabitant could be affected by or fall victim to confrontations or attacks, this conflict inexorably had to leave a wake of insecurity, lost lives, destruction and sorrow.

Many Argentines have suffered and still suffer in silence, which deserves respect, the consequences of an irreparable loss. The whole country knows that many of the actual or ideological perpetrators of those killings are now abroad enjoying impunity and, in some cases, a support which casts suspicion upon the partial and thus unjust concern which is expressed about many of the consequences of this unique war.

It is, therefore, necessary to clearly point out that there are many unhealed wounds in the Argentine society as a consequence of long years of great insecurity, frequent moments of terror, loss of relatives and loved ones who fell under an unjustified and treacherous attack, mutiliations, long arrests, and the disappearance of persons.

All these individual or collective, material or spiritual tribulations are the sequels to a war that the Argentines must leave behind.

That will only be possible if we act with humility, and without revanchism, but especially without singling out anybody in an unjust manner, which will only cause pain to those who, after making their contribution to peace in the nation, have stoically borne the aftermath of an aggression which they neither provoked nor deserved.

It is always difficult to give a full account of any armed conflict. In a classical war, in which the combatants are of different nationalities, wear different uniforms to distinguish them, and fight across well separated lines, there are many who cannot be accounted for. In a war with such peculiar characteristics as the one we fought internally, in which the enemy wore no distinctive uniform and carried forged identification documents, the number of unidentified casualties increases significantly.

Taking as their mission to heal the wounds inflicted in the struggle, and anxious to clear up doubtful situations which may exist, the armed forces makes available -- as the only elements for consultation -- through the Interior Ministry the material listed below.

A list of members of terrorist organizations who are serving sentences or are being prosecuted by the Federal Court or War Councils and of detainees at the disposal of the Executive Branch by virtue of Article 23 of the National Constitution.

A list of requests for investigation of the whereabouts of individuals (presumably missing persons) filed with the Interior Ministry since 1974 through this date.

A list of requests for the investigations of the whereabouts of individuals which have been resolved through court or administrative procedures.

A list of casualties caused by terrorist activities.

The missing persons issue is the one which most forcibly strikes legitimate humanitarian sentiments, the one which is most insidiously wielded to play on the good faith of those who are not acquainted or did not live through the events which drove us to that extreme situation.

On several occasions, the national government alerted the specific commissions of the international organizations to the fact that in the lists submitted to them, among incomplete names and confusing references, there were names of persons who had never been in that situation, of detainees about whom the authorities had provided pertinent information, and even of persons who died naturally or simply did not exist.

Because of the experience we have lived through, we can testify to the fact that many of the disappearances resulted from the manner in which the terrorists operated. They changed their real names, they were called by their "noms de guerre," and they obtained all kinds of forged personal documents.

These documents are known as "tickets to the underground". Those who decide to join terrorist organizations do so in a surreptitious manner by fading away from their family, job and social environment. This is the most typical case: Families report disappearances the cause of which they do not know or, if they do know, they do not want to reveal.

Therefore, some "disappearances" which had been denounced could be traced to persons involved in terrorist actions. In other cases, the terrorists left the country surreptitiously and are living abroad under false identities. Others, after leaving the country, return under false identities; and there are also terrorist fugitives inside and outside the country.

There are cases of deserters from the various terrorist organizations who are now living in the country or abroad under false identity to protect their own lives.

Many of those who died during clashes with security forces did not carry any identification documents or they carried forged documents on which, in many cases, the fingerprints were blurred. Other terrorists, in view of imminent capture, committed suicide by swallowing a cyanide capsule. In these cases the bodies were not claimed and since they could not be identified, they were legally buried as "unidentified."

Whenever they could do so, the terrorists removed the bodies of their dead from where the clash had taken place. The bodies, as well as the wounded who died as a consequence of the clashes, were destroyed or clandestinely buried by the terrorists.

The struggle for hegemony within terrorism resulted in murders and kidnappings among the various terrorist factions. Terrorism, sheltered by a so-called revolutionary code, held kangaroo courts and murdered those members who had deserted or failed to accomplish the missions with which they had been entrusted. They were then buried under false identity or unknown circumstances and places.

Throughout the struggle against subversion, the security forces infiltrated men into the terrorist ranks. They were murdered once they were discovered, but there is no documentation on where they were buried.

Moreover, there have been cases of persons who were reported missing and later appeared living perfectly normal lives, without this fact ever being reported to the pertinent judicial or administrative authorities.

The list of missing persons could be artificially lengthened by including cases that cannot be attributed to terrorist actions and which are normally registered in any large city.

It must be noted that the circumstances of reported kidnappings are subject to court investigations; a great number of cases concerning allegedly illegal arrests have been heard by judges acting ex-officio.

One of the theories which the government has always upheld is the possibility that persons declared missing could have been buried as unidentified. The report drawn up by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission -- which visited our country in 1979 -- supports this theory by maintaining that a great number of unidentified persons who had died violently, mostly during clashes with the security forces, had been buried in different cemeteries.

Mention is also made to "missing" persons allegedly being held under arrest by the Argentine Government in the most remote areas of the country.

This is nothing but a lie that is being used for political purposes, since there are no secret prisons in the republic, nor are there any persons being held under arrest in a clandestine manner in Argentine prisons.

Therefore, it should be clearly understood that those persons who are on the list of missing persons and are not among those living in exile or underground -- for juridical or administrative purposes -- are regarded as dead, even though the causes and time of their eventual deaths or the place where they were buried has yet to be determined.

V. Final Considerations

Although complete disregard for human rights is one of the most tragic expressions of subversion, terrorism is only one of its methods. The subversive aggression came into being because, before its onset and while it was going on, the ideology of violence infiltrated and got hold of education, culture, labor sectors, the economic structures and even political groups and the state apparatus.

The victory, obtained at such a high cost, had the full support of the citizenry that understood the complex phenomenon of subversion and, through its leaders, repudiated violence.

The peoples' attitude clearly reveals the entire nation's desire to end a painful phase of our history in order to start, united and in freedom, the final constitutional institutionalization of the republic.

In order to be successfull in this enterprise it is essential that we have the necessary equilibrium to understand what has happened without forgetting the circumstances that led us to the brink of disintegration as well as the responsibilities, either for actions or omissions, of the various sectors of the community, to avoid once again taking that painful path which we never again want.

Those who gave their life to fight the terrorist scourge deserve an eternal homage of respect and gratitude. Those who defended the principles of a way of life based on respect for human rights, liberty, peace and democracy, by risking their personal security and that of their families -- such as political leaders, priests, businessmen, labor union leaders, judges or simple citizens -- deserve the recognition of the community.

Those who offer their intelligence, good will, solidarity and sympathy at the service of the reconciliation of the Argentine people deserve recognition and respect.

Those who lost their lives while enrolled as members of terrorist organizations in attacks on the society which brought them up -- beyond ideological differences and looked upon as children of God -- let them be forgiven.

Those who recognized their mistakes and served their sentences deserve help. The Argentine society in its generosity is willing to accept them back.

Reconciliation is the difficult beginning of an era of maturity and responsibility which is being initiated by all of us. Wounds are a painful memory, but are also the basis of a strong democracy, of a united and free people; a people who have learned that subversion and terrorism spell the death of freedom.

The armed forces presents this information to the people so that they, as a community, can judge this tragic stage in our history. This is a problem affecting all Argentines, a problem all we Argentines must resolve together if we want to ensure the survival of the republic.

In view of what has been said, the Military Junta declares that:

1. The information and explanations disclosed in this document include everything that is available to the armed forces for disclosure to the nation regarding the results and consequences of the war against subversion and terrorism.

2. Under these circumstances -- not wanted by the armed forces and to which they were compelled to defend the national way of life -- only history can judge and determine exactly who was directly responsible for the unjust methods and innocent deaths.

3. The actions of the members of the armed forces in the conduct of the war were in the line of duty.

4. The armed forces acted and will act, if necessary, to fulfill the orders of the national government, taking advantage of the experience learned in this painful situation of the national life.

5. The armed forces submit these decisions to the people and to the judgment of history. These decisions represent an attitude aimed at defending common good, a common good which at that time meant the very survival of society. And so they express their sorrow as true Christians who recognize the errors they may have committed in fulfilling that duty.

PRESIDENT BIGNONE DENIES MILITARY, UNION PACT

PY281400 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1442 GMT 27 Apr 83

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 27 Apr (TELAM) -- President Reynaldo Bignone flatly denied today the existence of an alleged agreement between the Army and the unions. He also reiterated that the government is not sponsoring and will not sponsor any candidate and that it does not and will not favor any political party.

Opening today's cabinet meeting, the president discussed a subject which had been commented on over the past few days; an alleged, nonexistent agreement between the Army and the unions. He regarded the reports as foolish and reckless. The president pointed out that the idea is nonsense, because besides being false and nonexistent it cannot be understood and nobody is throwing any light on what it means, what it seeks or what it is all about.

General Bignone's statement on this issue was released at the press office of Government House by presidential spokesman Eduardo Maschwitz, who said that the head of state had pointed out that a number of ambiguities and pointless generalities, which have neither been specified nor clarified, were being raised on the subject.

Bignone further stated that for all these reasons it was a reckless decision to involve high-ranking officers without evidence or definite charges, disclosing their names without any reason at all and without regard for the damage caused to them, to the institutions they represent and to the institutionalization process.

PARTY LEADERS VIEW UNITY, PERON PARTICIPATION

PY181448 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 27 Apr 83 p 9

[Text] Efforts to set up a summit Peronist conference aimed at the organization of the party's political branch have virtually failed, a party source admitted yesterday.

In a press conference yesterday at noon, Justicialist Reaffirmation Movement leader Raul Matera announced that talks towards the creation of only one Peronist presidential formula were in progress, but he warned that a meeting of top party figures was not aimed at "confronting the union leaderships" and that former President Maria Estela Martinez de Peron "will not take part in party elections."

Matera gave the press copies of a statement he had earlier presented to the party authorities requesting the election, by direct vote, of a Peronist presidential formula. He also said that during the two meetings he had held with Deolindo Bittel, first vice president of the National Justicialist Council, "we talked about a meeting which will be held by top political leaders in the movement," and that "although no date has been set yet" since "in politics we must wait for things to ripen," he seemed sure a summit as such would indeed take place. On the other hand, Bittel emphasized he foresaw a meeting with Peronist leaders "in order to consolidate the political line of the party," pointing out that he had neither proposed nor given any promotion to the initiative.

GONZALEZ ON BRITISH BANK ACCORD, U.S. VISIT

PY281610 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2227 GMT 27 Apr 83

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 27 Apr (TELAM) -- Central Bank President Dr Julio Gonzalez del Solar stated today that current financial relations between Argentina and Great Britain are perfectly normal and that there are no difficulties whatsoever. He also denied that he is representing a special sector, and added: I represent the Argentine Government and I am going to Washington for a meeting with the World Bank.

On referring to current Argentine economic policy, he said that we are trying to do everything possible to create the best possible conditions in the country for the next constitutional government, and added that if someone objects to the creation of these conditions which seek improvement in the country, well, I am sorry, but we are not looking at it that way. Gonzalez del Solar made these remarks at Ezeiza International Airport just before leaving for Washington to participate in the deliberation of the World Bank Interim Committee.

Regarding the specific reason for his trip, he explained that he was going to Washington to attend the meeting of the World Bank Development Committee. He denied that his trip would be related to some negotiations with international banks, and added: I am not going to meet with creditors. The negotiations have concluded and they will continue in Buenos Aires in due time. In this regard he stated that a second IMF delegation will arrive in this capital by mid-May. Asked about the position of British banks regarding the new bridge loan of $1.5 billion, Gonzalez del Solar stated that it is not a bridge loan, and that the participation of British banks was agreed upon in December. There was no difficulty at all. He added that in September, Argentina and Great Britain reciprocally lifted the financial restrictions and that since then financial relations have been perfectly normal without any difficulty whatsoever.

PAPER CRITICIZES HANDLING OF LIBYAN AFFAIR

PY271750 Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 26 Apr 83 p 10

[Editorial: "Diplomatic Vacuum"]

[Text] As we are getting toward the end of the Libyan planes novel, we can make some short-term predictions and raise serious doubts about the future.

As far as the immediate question is concerned, the pragmatism of Itamaraty seems to have gotten what it wanted: "Neither too much rigor to make it appear as a humiliation nor too much tolerance to make it appear as a disregard for our sovereignty," said Itamaraty in striking phrase which paraphrases one by Pinheiro Machado.

After a week, the inspection of the Libyan planes was carried out without provoking, as everything indicates, irritation in the Ayatollah of Tripoli; and, consequently, without great risk for the $200 million deal which is in the works between Brazil and Libya.

As for a possible irritation on the Brazilian side, it seems to have been suppressed right at the outset, even though the Libyan Government -- with no surpirse for anyone -- acted true to form, that is, with no consideration whatsoever for the rules of international coexistence.

The surrealism of the story goes a little bit beyond the landing of Libyan planes in Recife and Manaus, because Colonel al-Qadhdhafi is notorious for his involvement in terrorism around the world, and yet his agents were treated with the subtleties of diplomacy.

It seems that we were perplexed at discovering that the Libyan Government lied in writing when it requested landing permission for its planes which were carrying "medical supplies for Nicaragua." Foreign Minister Saraiva Guerreiro (cited by VEJA magazine) limited himself to expressing surprise regarding the episode: "How could we have thought that the Libyan Government was lying in writing to our Foreign Ministry?"

It also seems that Brazil did not even suspect that three Ilyushins and a C-130 cargo plane were too big for a simple shipment of medical supplies -- no matter how much of these supplies one may think Nicaragua needs. And it does not even seem that Brazil had been alerted by the fact that the United States had already denounced more than 10 Libyan flights carrying arms for Central America.

Suspicions were aroused only later -- and it matters little if there was or was not CIA cooperation in this case. At the beginning of the week, the Air Force, suspecting something, conducted an inspection by checking a sample of what was on the Hercules parked in Recife -- and it found anything but medical supplies. In spite of this, the final solution dragged on for a week, as though hesitating at the sarcastic commentary by a Libyan that Brazil would have a surprise if it went ahead with its intention to break into the planes.

At that point the Libyans no longer felt uncomfortable about the emergency which interrupted their trip. They were probing the Brazilian discomfiture instead.

Diplomacy cannot hinge on practical considerations -- although $200 million are not to be rejected in the current Brazilian situation. But there are some considerations that cannot be exchanged for dollars.

Libya deliberately violated the Chicago Convention whereby, on international routes, planes "cannot transport ammunitions or war materiel while overflying or landing in other countries, save with the consent of the country involved. "Had no damage been done to the national sovereignty, and could the Libyans continue to deserve the polite treatment which is extended to civilized nations?

Leaving aside the question of national honor and taking up the question of national security, are not our strategists concerned by the fact that the Central American fire is being stoked from so far away and with so much generosity? President Reagan finally got the arguments he needed to prove the massive extracontinental interfernce in the Central American conflict.

That still does not mean that the U.S. view toward this extremely delicate problem is correct. A word of moderation from Brazil is certainly important in a situation in which blind passion is taking hold of governments and individuals. But only by a gross mistake can a word of moderation be confused with silence.

After all, Brazil has now had a direct experience with the Central American conflict. It should now definitively relinquish a posture which does not go beyond avoiding antagonisms. Brazilian diplomacy cannot be an abstraction from the real world, because if a country with Brazil's responsibilities does not speak for itself, others will speak for it. Instead of being the conductor of its own foreign policy, the country will slide from ambiguity to ambiguity into a position where it will be forced to take a stand under unfavorable conditions. The concern with pragmatism cannot let a country lose the respect it owes to itself -- especially a country with the ambitions Brazil has.

GOVERNOR NAMES 'LEFTIST' MAYOR OF SAO PAULO

PY221225 Rio de Janeiro LATIN AMERICAN DAILY POST in English 21 Apr 83 p 2

[Text] Sao Paulo (DAILY POST) -- A leftist civil engineer who led a major group opposed to Brazil's military government was named mayor of Sao Paulo. Mario Covas, 53, was named to the post by state Governor Franco Montoro, who was elected last November on the opposition ticket of the Democratic Movement Party. Covas, who was stripped of his political rights, ran in the last election and won a federal Congress seat.

He had been national president of Democratic Movement and led a congressional fight to prevent the military from prosecuting a fellow congressmen on charges of insulting the armed forces more than a decade ago. His battle led the military to temporarily close Congress. The choice of Covas must now be ratified by the state assembly.

RUDE PRAVO INTERVIEWS COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF

AU271111 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 83 p 6

[Jiri Roskot interview with Giacondo Dias, secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party-Central Committee, during his "recent" visit to Czechoslovakia: "Peace and Democracy"]

[Text] Comrade Giaconco Dias, secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee, recently paid a working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. On this occasion he granted an interview to RUDE PRAVO.

[Question] Comrade Secretary General, how do you assess the general international situation in the light of U.S. attempts to gain strategic military supremacy over the Soviet Union and domination over entire world regions?

[Answer] The present international situation is dangerous, especially as far as the course of the U.S. Administration is concerned, which has launched an offensive against the forces of peace and strives to justify the arms race. However, this policy is doomed to fail. The United States will not succeed in upsetting the military balance and acquiring supremacy over the Socialist states. Thanks to the Socialist countries led by the Soviet Union, this balance will be maintained.

However, we must mobilize the broad masses for the struggle for peace, especially in the capitalist countries. The latest manifestation of the imperialist threat to Latin America was Great Britain's colonial war against Argentina, in which the United States was helping Great Britain. Life has shown that the United States is not our friend, that the treaty of Rio de Janeiro (the inter-American agreement on mutual assistance -- editor's note) is nothing but a farce. By siding with the aggressor, the United States has practically killed the treaty.

[Question] How do you assess the Soviet peace proposals, especially the USSR's commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons?

[Answer] This demonstrates, in fact, who wants war and who struggles for peace -- not verbally, but with deeds. The USSR's actual stand is in line with its proclamations. Today it is no longer that easy for the United States to start a war when it pleases. The Soviet Union represents a safeguard of peace. At the same time it is immensly important that the nations in the capitalist countries, too, struggle against war.

[Question] The World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War will meet in Prague this June. Comrade Secretary General, what significance do you ascribe to this forthcoming event?

[Answer] I consider the holding of this world assembly to be fundamental and exceedingly important. It will contribute to uniting all peace-loving forces of the world in concrete undertakings.

[Question] What are the current political conditions in Brazil and what development are they undergoing?

[Answer] For the Brazilian people, too, peace is the main thing and the peace movement in Brazil is an active one. The country is grappling with great political, financial and economic problems. The submission to the International Monetary Fund has met with general disapproval. This was reflected also in the recent elections of governors of 22 Brazilian states, deputies, senators, councillors and mayors. The opposition parties achieved a great victory although in 12 states the government party managed to get its governors elected.

Almost 75 percent of the country's overall production and 75 percent of agricultural production are concentrated in the states in which the opposition prevailed. These states also account for more than 70 percent of Brazil's exports and imports. One of them is the state of Sao Paulo, whose capital of the same name is the largest industrial center of the whole of Latin America.

Brazil is now in a kind of a transition period from the military regime to a regime in which the citizens' political and civil rights should be, in principle, guaranteed.

The people have achieved some important victories. For example, an amnesty has been proclaimed and press censorship abolished. However, this process is not a straightforward one. From time to time there are relapses. Recently the police arrested participants of our seminar on the work of communists. At the end of March the editorial board of our press was apprehended.

However, all in all the election results represent a step on the path toward democracy. They give the workers class the possibility to organize and to struggle for its rights together with other strata of the population and establish better conditions for the struggle for peace and democracy and for a better world in general.

[Question] Comrade Secretary General, how do you appraise cooperation between the Brazilian and Czecholsovak Communists?

[Answer] The relations between the Communists of Brazil and Czechoslovakia have always been very good. We can speak of traditional ties. I would like to express thanks for all the assistance of the international workers movement and, in particular, of communists from Czechoslovakia. Our party has always sought to base its relations [with other parties] on the foundations of proletarian internationalism. [Roskot] Thank you for the interview.

MINISTER DENIES NONPEACEFUL NUCLEAR PROGRAM

PY270406 Paris AFP in Spanish 1530 GMT 26 Apr 83

[Text] Brasilia, 26 Apr (AFP) -- Refuting newspaper reports that Brazil would be in the position to manufacture a nuclear bomb in 12 months, Brazil has denied that its nuclear program contemplates the manufacture of nuclear devices.

Mines and Energy Minister Cesar Cals said that the Brazilian Government has already made the political decision of acquiring and developing technology only for peaceful ends.

Minister Cals noted that Brazil wants to master nuclear technology for enriching and reprocessing uranium. Brazil is running against the interests of some countries. To avoid competition in an area in which the technology is expensive, they want to restrict its transfer, he added.

These reports that Brazil will eventually manufacture a nuclear bomb originated in exclusive declarations of the FRG KWU Company (Kraftwerk Union) sales manager Gerold Herzog to JORNAL DO BRASIL.

M-19 LEADERS ON LIBYAN WEAPONS, AMNESTY

PA281720 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1620 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Excerpt] Bogota, 28 Apr (DPA) -- Jaime Bateman Cayon, top leader of the 19 April Movement (M-19), has emphatically denied that he had announced that he had been to Libya. He has also denied the government's report that part of the weapons retained in Brazil were for his group. In an interview that Bateman and Conrado Marin, another M-19 leader, gave to journalist Oscar Dominguez Giraldo, Bateman said that it was all an "excessive display of imagination by Defense Minister Fernando Landazabal Reyes."

Dominguez Giraldo, who works for the Colombian news agency COLPRENSA and the Colombian Radio Group [Cadena Grupo Radial Colombiano], was "invited" by the M-19 leaders. He interviewed both Bateman and Marin someplace in Colombia. Commenting on the scandal about the Libyan weapons that were allegedly being sent to the guerrillas in his group, Bateman said: "We have grown accustomed to the defense minister's lies." He added: "The minister's imagination sinned by excess."

"I do not think that the M-19's power is as great as to make a state like Libya become involved in as childish an adventure as landing a plane in the middle of the Colombian jungle," Bateman added. "Nobody believes the defense minister when he says this." Later the guerrilla leader said that he does not think it too serious that the defense minister should make charges against the M-19, but he did sound worried over the way in which the communications media and the political sectors have "assimilated this rumor," as the guerrilla leader termed the military forces' version.

Concerning the report about his alleged trip to Libya, Bateman said that he has never told any journalist that he had been to that country. He then said that those who spread this rumor should be asked to play back their recording to prove it. According to Bateman, the Libyan revolution deserves respect, but he repeated that the M-19 has not been in touch with the Libyan government. The M-19 leader said that developments are demonstrating that the cargo in the planes was not destined for the Colombian guerrillas, but for the Nicaraguan Government, and he added that as a sovereign nation that country has every right to arm itself.

The guerrilla leader denounced what he described as the "ill will" shown by the defense minister and the military commands, noting that that kind of stand threatens the peace process in Colombia. Finally, Bateman criticized the press for "letting" the military intelligence services "score a goal."

For his part, Marin, chief of the M-19's southern front and the highest-ranking M-19 leader to accept the amnesty decreed by the government last year, told journalist Dominguez Giraldo that he has returned to clandestinity because there are no guarantees for his life. The guerrilla leader charged that there have been many cases of guerrillas who accepted the amnesty and have later been murdered mysteriously. Marin blamed the military and police authorities for these deaths. According to him, the government's peace proposals have failed because the lives of the guerrillas who accepted the amnesty have not been respected.

According to the extremist leader, 26 M-19 members who had accepted the amnesty law and wanted to return to a normal life have been killed. The M-19 leaders also commented on the peace efforts for Central America, which the Colombian Government is furthering jointly with the other countries that comprise the so-called Contadora Group. According to them, these efforts are positive.

MEXICO CITY DAILIES REACT TO REAGAN SPEECH

PA281825 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1710 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Mexico City, 28 Apr (DPA) -- The Mexican daily EXCELSIOR today characterized the speech delivered yesterday by U.S. President Ronald Reagan as a reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine. EXCELSIOR states in an editorial that "President Reagan's idea of what he calls 'our own garden,' referring to the Central American area, is more than just allegorical: It actually reflects the conviction of a certain U.S. sector on what should be considered as U.S. property, beyond territorial borders."

The editorial adds: "It is difficult for anyone who is not from the United States to understand how arguments on rights over other nations can be so emphatically stated." It notes: "The idea is to reaffirm the Monroe Doctrine's predominance in Big Power foreign policy."

The daily UNOMASUNO sees Reagan's speech as "a discourse for U.S. domestic consumption with very clear goals: to secure an increase in appropriations for military aid to El Salvador and for backing the counterrevolutionary activities of the anti-Sandinist forces in Nicaragua."

BRAZIL'S FIGUEIREDO CRITICIZES U.S. POLICY

PA281302 Buenos Aires LATIN in Spanish 0738 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Excerpts] Cancun, Mexico, 28 Apr (LATIN-REUTER) -- Brazilian President Joao Figueiredo has criticized U.S. policy in Central America and said that Washington is indirectly responsible for leftist Nicaragua's shift toward the Soviet bloc.

Figueiredo, who is continuing talks with Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid on this tourist island today, told newsmen last night that he will never support U.S. policy in Central America because it undermines the region's right to self-determination. He added that Washington has forced leftist Nicaragua, the United States' primary antagonist in the region, to align itself with the Soviet group. "Had Nicaragua received economic assistance from the rich countries, especially the United States, it would not be in its present situation," he said.

The Brazilian president's comments came only a few hours before President Ronald Reagan appeared before a joint session of the U.S. Congress in search of support for his controversial Central American policy.

Figueiredo said that the main hindrance to peace initiatives in Central America is the superpowers' interference. He sustained this posture yesterday at the summit meetings, saying that the Central American conflict is an internal matter.

At the 4-day summit meeting, Brazil and Mexico, the most indebted countries in the world, are also discussing ways of overcoming their financial difficulties through commercial agreements. However, Figueiredo denied that Brazil would join with any other important debtor, even Mexico, to pressure (?the United States) to obtain more favorable terms of credit.

VOTE COUNTING BOARD GIVES REFERENDUM RESULTS

PA282234 Panama City Television Network in Spanish 2125 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Results of the 24 April Constitutional Referendum, as issued by the National Vote Counting Board, in Panama City; read by Ismael Garcia F., president of the National Vote Counting Board -- live]

[Text] Total number of polling places:	2,769
Total number of votes:	556,969
Total number of "yes" votes:	476,716
Total number of "no" votes:	66,447
Total number of blank votes:	6,590
Total number of null votes:	7,216

These figures yield the following percentages:

Votes counted:	67 percent
"Yes" votes:	85.5 percent
"No" votes:	12 percent
Blank votes:	1.2 percent
Null votes:	1.3 percent

As spokesman for the National Vote Counting Board, I therefore declare that the Panamanian citizens have accepted the reforms to the 1972 Constitution.

COSTA RICA

PRESIDENT MONGE HAILS REAGAN SPEECH TO CONGRESS

PA281246 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 1200 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] President Luis Alberto Monge has said that the speech made yesterday by U.S. President Ronald Reagan to the joint session of Congress was a convincing message. The president said that Reagan did a very good job of clarifying the U.S. Government's position on the serious problems being faced by Central America as a result of the social, political and military upheaval affecting several Central American countries.

The message was very convincing to those senators and house members who have been reticent toward, have had reservations about or have even been hostile toward some of President Reagan's positions.

As for President Reagan's comments, President Monge said that he did not wish to comment in terms of other Central American countries, because for him to do so could be interpreted as interference in the affairs of others; but where Costa Rica is concerned, he said that it was his duty to speak.

The position that the U.S. Administration has taken toward Costa Rica has been one of open support, aid and solidarity without conditions. Monge said that it is absolutely false that this aid has carried the conditions that Costa Rica become involved in any kind of action against any country of government in Central America.

GOVERNMENT CITES VISIT OF NICARAGUA'S WHEELOCK

PA281441 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 1200 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] The purpose of the visit that Nicaraguan cabinet minister Jaime Wheelock will pay to our country this morning, during which he will meet with Vice President Armando Arauz Aguilar and the members of the Security Council, is to submit evidence about an alleged invasion plan.

Late yesterday afternoon it was reported that the Sandinist senior official would be arriving in Costa Rica. President Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez confirmed the report last night but noted that Wheelock will meet only with Vice President Arauz Aguilar. According to reports, Wheelock will submit evidence of an invasion that is allegedly to be launched from Costa Rican territory in opposition to the Sandinist regime.

The meeting between Arauz and Wheelock will be held this morning. Earlier reports that the two officials would meet last night were denied. It was confirmed, however, that Wheelock will be arriving on a special flight this morning and that the meeting will begin at 0830.

The Costa Rican Government has allowed the Sandinist official to bring documents and other evidence that the Nicaraguans may have, as further proof of Costa Rica's neutrality and of its determination not to allow its territory to be used for launching actions against any neighboring country, it was reported.

Wheelock Arrives, Makes Statement

PA290321 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1910 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] San Jose, 28 Apr (ACAN-EFE) -- Nicaraguan Agriculture Minister Jaime Wheelock arrived in San Jose today, and said that he came to reaffirm "Nicaragua's respect and friendship, and to guarantee to the Costa Rican Government that is should not expect attacks from the Sandinist forces."

Wheelock met at Government House with Vice President Armando Arauz Aguilar, and said that he came in the name of the National Reconstruction Junta, the FSLN National Directorate and the Nicaraguan people. He defined the objective of his visit as "one more effort to maintain peace with Costa Rica, in spite of any difficulty or incident between the two countries."

Wheelock said that "for us the fundamental thing is the will that exists to maintain friendship, peace, respect and cooperation with Costa Rica."

Referring to the border problems that have occurred repeatedly, Wheelock said that he was "emphatically" declaring that in no case has an attitude of hostility existed toward the Costa Rican people, and that what has happened was due to the Sandinist Government's need to take "reasonable" defensive measures because there are groups that are organizing in Costa Rica, without the government's knowledge, to destabilize the Managua government.

In the name of the Nicaraguan Government Junta and the FSLN National Directorate, Commander Jaime Wheelock said that he had "the best desire to improve continually the relations with Costa Rica and to cooperate with the government, as well as to prevent any differences or problems that could endanger the friendship and solidarity between the two peoples."

He warned that "here is Costa Rica there are groups of persons who disregard the peaceful spirit of the Costa Rican people and want to cause a confrontation with the Nicaraguan people."

Wheelock said that tranquillity, peace, democracy and the neutrality of Costa Rica are factors of pacification in Central America.

Regarding the opposition groups that he denounced, the Nicaraguan agrarian reform minister said that "the opposition can express itself freely in Nicaragua, but it does not do so in spite of the electoral opening that has been established in Nicaragua for everyone who has differences with the government to express them."

Wheelock said it is the Sandinist junta's decision to favor democracy and to move away from dictatorship through a process of freedom, but that "Somozist groups and multimillionaires in complicity with tough guys and domineering individuals want to poison the atmosphere and provoke war."

The Nicaraguan minister said that in spite of the fact that the Nicaraguan people are sincere friends of the Costa Rican people, every time an effort is made to eliminate tensions, biased groups try to cause confrontations between the two countries.

According to Wheelock, this is what happened several days ago when several border incidents were provoked a few hours after Sandinist junta member Sergio Ramirez Mercado proclaimed his government's respect for Costa Rica.

The commander predicted that after this new effort to normalize the cordial relations "that have always existed and should continue to exist," the enemies of peace will provoke new problems to create tension.

In view of this situation, Wheelock asked for mature and sensible actions in a fraternal spirit of understanding in order not to disrupt the good relations that must prevail.

Wheelock said emphatically that on the part of his government "there has never been, nor is there now, nor will there ever be any desire to violate Costa Rica's sovereignty." On the contrary, he added, "the Costa Rican people should feel sure of the friendship and fraternity of the Nicaraguan people."

PRESIDENT MONGE TO LEAVE 4 JUNE FOR EUROPE

PA242025 San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 20 Apr 83 p 3

[Excerpt] President Luis Alberto Monge will leave 4 June on a 15-day tour of Europe that will take him to Spain, Italy, France, and West Germany.

EL SALVADOR

MAGANA SAYS GOVERNMENT HAS PEOPLE'S SUPPORT

PA281701 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1555 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] San Salvador, 28 Apr (ACAN-EFE) -- Salvadoran President Alvaro Magana has stated that "with sufficient military aid we would have already won the war, but the U.S. Government's good will encounters limitations every 6 months and to us this represents a slackening of our efforts against subversion."

In a report published today by the newspaper LA PRENSA GRAFICA, Magana says that this situation is favorable for the rebel groups, and added that if the certifications regarding conditions that the United States has imposed on this country were due once each year "it would be very beneficial for the struggle in defense of democracy in El Salvador."

Magana added that is U.S. aid for El Salvador is discontinued, this would reflect an intention to turn this country over to international communism, since this is who we are fighting."

According to the newspaper report, President Magana deplored the position of some U.S. congressmen and the international misinformation about the Salvadoran situation.

Magana said that the government will win the war "even if the subversives continue to receive aid from Nicaragua and U.S. aid to El Salvador is discontinued, because we have the people's support." The president added: "With the limited aid that we have received we have managed to maintain control and will continue to do so."

Magana said that the U.S. Government is not willing to send troops to El Salvador "unless Cuba were to bring in its troops from Angola." Regarding the insurgents' proposal of a dialogue with the government and the international efforts on its behalf, Magana reiterated, many times, "I have nothing to negotiate with the guerrillas."

He said that the only dialogue or negotiations to be held was already accomplished by the Salvadoran people in the March 1982 elections, and that "today those same people are getting ready to once more show the world their democratic beliefs and lofty civic spirit by participating in the upcoming elections." The Salvadoran Government has scheduled elections for late this year, but to date has not specified if a new legislature will also be elected along with the members of the executive branch.

MAGANA NEWS SESSION; REACTION TO REAGAN SPEECH

PA282346 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1900 GMT 28 Apr 83

[News conference held by Salvadoran President Alvaro Magana, Vice Presidents Pablo Mauricio Alvergue and Gabriel Mauricio Gutierrez Castro, Defense Minister Gen Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova, Constituent Assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson and Francisco Quinonez, member of the Peace Commission; at the Government House in San Salvador -- live]

[Excerpts] [Magana] Thank you, gentlemen representatives of the news media, for accepting our invitation. The main objective of this conference is to release a Salvadoran Government statement on President Reagan's speech to Congress last evening. I would also beg you to accept our apology for the involuntary delay in beginning this meeting, but we were holding a working session with the members of the Political Commission in order to discuss some matters related to the draft of the amnesty law with the respective commission of the assembly. This explains the delay in meeting with you.

The statement to which I referred will be read at this meeting, and copies will be given to each of you at the end of the news conference.

As I was saying, the main purpose of this meeting is to express on behalf of all the members of the Political Commission in particular, and of the national unity government and the Salvadoran people, our deep gratitude for the efforts that President Reagan has carried out to maintain the levels of economic and military aid that have been requested from the U.S. Congress. The Reagan Administration's efforts deserve all our gratitude, and this is the reason we have invited you. We want to express our gratitude for those efforts that enable us, who share common ideals, to wage a struggle against the common enemy. Thank you. [passage indistinct]

[Question] [passage indistinct] How far is the Salvadoran Government willing to go to continue to receive U.S. aid? Up to what point is El Salvador willing to compromise itself to receive that aid?

[Magana] Let me begin by stating that we have not committed ourselves to anything in order to receive U.S. aid. We have our own peace program formulated by the Political Commission and we have our own human rights program. We have our own economic recovery program. We have our own program of a democratic process through elections. If this coincides with the view of the U.S. Government and people, we are very satisfied that we agree on those objecties, but we are not going to go further than you think, or further than we would like to go [words indistinct]

As for the first part of your question, I did not quite understand the question, but you said that the economic problem is very important and that perhaps the U.S. aid is not decisive. You are right, but we are carrying out our economic recovery with the help of the U.S. economic aid. However, we cannot base our economic recovery soley on the U.S. aid.

For example, in our industrial recovery and the recovery of the agricultural production levels, the economic aid is very important because we have foreign exchange available for the import of fertilizers and pesticides for the one sector and raw materials and other goods for the other sector. But the government has tried to win the interest of the private sector and has been able to create a climate of confidence among the private sector that makes us think that as a result of its attitude, which is a decisive as the government's attitude, plus the U.S. aid, we will achieve a recovery.

[Question] Mr President, a few minutes ago you replied to a question that I believe is one being asked by most Salvadorans. It is whether El Salvador or the Salvadoran Government has acquired some commitment in order to receive the U.S. aid for the country's economic recovery. President Ronald Reagan said among some points last night that in order to obtain that aid he promised to withdraw the military advisers in El Salvador and Central America. He also expressed his commitment to send a special envoy. I would like to ask you, Mr President, up to what point will the withdrawal of the military advisers in El Salvador and Central America and the sending of the special U.S. envoy contribute to the real peace that we Salvadorans want?

[Magana] In truth, the question should be addressed to President Reagan because it falls within the framework of the policy they are outlining. In other words, I can tell you that the withdrawal of the advisers would make difficult the training of our troops and would cause some difficulties that we would find a way to overcome. But if they, in an overall analysis of all the region's problems, believe that the withdrawal could be part of a solution, that is their own evaluation. As for the envoy, I said in a previous answer to a question in English that initially the envoy was proposed just as special envoy for the case of El Salvador, but later this was changed so he would be an envoy for all the regional problems. El Salvador is only part of other problems of equal importance. I announced earlier that 30 minutes ago I was told from Washington that the envoy will be Mr Stone, former Senator Stone. I don't know if this answers your question. It is hard for me to answer since the withdrawal of the military advisers is a decision within a plan in search for peace that they have set forth, and that I was unaware of until last night. What I can tell you is that it would bring difficulties or delays in our training programs, and that if it occurs we would look for a way to solve them.

[Question] Mr President, when I asked the question I was aware that these are decisions of a government that is helping us. On the domestic level, I understand that the president and the members of the Cabinet have an idea of what is really happening and up to what point such a situation could bring favorable or unfavorable consequences. I wanted to know your viewpoint and not that of the U.S. President or the U.S. Congress. I wanted to know what the Salvadoran President thinks about this.

[Magana] I can specifically reply that the military advisers are cooperating in the training of our troops, and if we did not have them we would have difficulties and delays that we would try to solve in another way. We have already tried to confront that problem, but perhaps in not such a radical way as it was expressed last night; instead we have looked into limitations on the number of advisers. We are ready to try to solve that problem through other possible alternatives. [passage omitted]

[Question] A few minutes ago you were talking about the civic action program and the projects in Usulutan and San Vicente. We understand that some problems have arisen with this program. Those problems are connected with the tactic of maintaining a vast military operation in those zones, and this might create problems in other parts of the country. I would like to know whether these problems have been solved, and is this program ready? When might it begin?

I would also like to know if additional changes in the armed forces that would be important for this program are being contemplated.

[Magana] Please repeat the last part of your question.

[Question] With regard to those projects, I would like to know whether changes are currently being contemplated in the armed forces, for example in the general staff, the Defense Ministry or the structure of the armed forces?

[Magana] At this time there are no changes because the work of this program was organized through the coordinator, who is an Army officer, and Colonel (Sanchez) was appointed as the officer in charge. Therefore, no changes in this regard are contemplated at this time. As for the first part of the question, which is more technical and somewhat out of my field, I am going to ask the defense minister to give you an explanation that I believe will be closer to the truth.

[Vides Casanova] Expanding on the answer by the president, I would like to tell you that you should not expect any surprise or change in the end-of-the-month order. I understand perfectly well that it would be to my personal advantage to have strong orders and a number of changes, but I think that in these moments it is not a matter of my personal interests but the interests of the armed forces and the country. I think it is fair that before undertaking any important changes in the armed forces I have the opportunity to go anywhere there are problems to see what is occurring there, the corrective measures that must be adopted at the right moment, and to see whether corrective measures can be taken without needing to change the commands there. You can be sure that once the problem has been carefully analyzed we will act justly, and at no time will we be indulgent and leave commanders in posts that they should not be holding. But in order to make such a decision, one must be sure of what one does, and one must act with great justice.

Regarding the other question the president was asked, I have already analyzed the document on the plan to be carried out in San Vicente and Usulutan. It is a very complex project that depends a lot on the aid that we are given. In short, we are going to try to carry out the rehabilitation of the area regardless of whether there are problems of subversion. At the same time that we rehabilitate the area we are going to have enough forces to eliminate the subversive pockets in Usulutan and San Vicente. Do you have another question?

[Question] You said that the renewal of areas will be carried out even if the guerrilla pockets have not been eliminated?

[Vides Casanova] That is correct. It is like when we have an ill person, and the fact that he is paralyzed does not mean that we are not going to give him medicine before he starts walking. We have a problem, and that is that a subversion exists. It is in those two departments. But we also have to do something so that those two departments will start to produce and support the economic rearguard of the purely military effort that we are undertaking. In all our efforts we are also going to try to give an overall reply to the communists. The attack on our society by the communists is an overall attack in the economic, political, social and military fields. Therefore, we have to organize society so that the reply we give to the communists will also be an integral one from the society that is being attacked. Any other question?

[Question] General don't you think that after Mr Reagan's speech yesterday there will be greater subversive movement and more violence soon in large urban areas, and if so, won't the Army and you have to obtain quick and successive victories?

[Vides Casanova] Right. I think that the survival of any armed force is based on successful operations. However, you must also remember General MacArthur, who said there are no easy or cheap victories. We know that we have to make a big effort, and in the measure that the subversives intensify their efforts, we will also do so. You know that in the 10 January plan, they said that in 10 days they would have absolute control over the country and would eliminate all the armed forces. We are waiting for them to keep that promise after almost 3 years have passed. I think that as long as they are not capable of achieving their established objectives, and we have been able to guarantee our country's sovereignty, we are fulfilling our duty. It is like a doctor who keeps you alive. Even though he knows that you are going to die someday, he doesn't stop giving you medicine and is not discouraged when a new illness affects you. We are involved in that struggle, confronting every action of the subversives anywhere in the country, and we are gradually gaining more experience, and we are going to make better use of the available human and material resources. We are going to establish contact with the personnel in the places of combat. I can guarantee that with the little that we have and the reduced aid we are going to fulfill our mission. Regarding President Reagan's aid, as we have said on other occasions we are grateful more for the way that it is given than for the quantity. All the Salvadoran people and especially the armed forces are always going to be grateful for the struggle of Mr Reagan and his advisers.

[Question] Do you think there will be more violence as a reply to this by the subversives?

[Answer] There has to be greater violence. That is essential. They have tried to stage a number of actions, such as their plans for the visit of the holy father. They were sure that with the visit of the holy father we, the armed forces, would be down on our knees asking for a dialogue. That is another plan that was not successful. I wish the communists had the integrity to face the armed forces, instead of hitting us treacherously. I challenge the commander of the guerrillas to fight me alone in the presence of all you. Let us place the same number of troops as guerrillas in any position in the country, and then you will see whether the armed forces are capable. Let us have this rather than treacherous actions. I think we have to confront the situation regardless of how it is presented. We are prepared, and we are going to improve our actions. Thank you.

[Question] Mr President, after the $30 million U.S. aid, and after President Reagan's speech, will your government make more dynamic the human rights and political commissions and everything dealing with the Apaneca pact? Will those commissions be more dynamic?

[Magana] We have no calendar for making them more dynamic, we don't have a timetable that says that we will make them more dynamic around Holy Week or the August festivities. The human rights commission was not established until December, and it has begun to work and get organized. For example, the publicity campaign that you are aware of began in April. The activities of the Peace Commission, which is another important instrument, are closely linked with the approval of the amnesty law, which as we said a short while ago is still pending. Therefore, the actions to make more dynamic -- as you described it -- the activities of the commissions are a normal process while the commissions get better organized and become more effective.

[Question] I would like to address this question to the president of the assembly and the defense minister. What is your opinion of President Reagan's speech last night?

[D'Aubuisson] First of all, I am not here as president of the assembly but as a member of the Political Commission that is coordinated by President Alvaro Magana. But in view of your question, I want to say that I think that all the Salvadoran people who listened to yesterday's speech were impressed. All of us have a feeling of gratitude toward the U.S. President for that patriotic and brave message that shows that he has fully understood the real problems of Central America and the Caribbean. For many years we have tried to make the world aware of the Salvadoran problems. These problems were always focused on as a civil war, something that has never existed. We have said that the objective is not El Salvador. The objective has been and always will be the control of the Caribbean. As a result of President Reagan's speech, we Salvadorans now feel that if our future was somewhat uncertain yesterday, it is now very clear. We will solve our problems.

[Question] The same question was asked of the defense minister.

[Vides Casanova] I will try to summarize the main impressions on President Reagan's speech. Remember that El Salvador has been subjected to a misinformation campaign for many years.

If you analyze President Reagan's speech, he spoke of an army defending itself from an aggression directed by Russia through Cuba and Nicaragua. He said that these are not peasants armed with machetes, but men who are many times armed with better weapons than the ones the United States supplies to us. He spoke of an army that has been capable of promoting free elections and that is about to promote, along with the national unity government, new free elections. Meanwhile, Nicaragua has been incapable of holding any elections. He also spoke of armed forces that are making progress in respect for human rights. He spoke of armed forces that have at all times received the support of their people. As I have told some newsmen, if Iran, which had one of the most powerful armies in the world, was unable to survive a few days fighting against all the people in the streets, then it must either be recognized that we have obtained the people's support, as President Reagan said, or that this is the best army in the world because it has survived 3 years fighting against all its people.

Another very important aspect in President Reagan's speech is that at last they have become aware of the area's geopolitical importance. No one believed that the Russians wanted to build a canal without locks across Nicaragua through the Lake of Nicaragua-San Juan River, but now the Russians say that they are interested in building a canal. And can we believe that the Russians are going to spend millions to build a canal if they only have control over the entrance and canal route but not the exit on the Gulf of Fonseca? That is why they also want to control El Salvador and Honduras. In this way they will have all the Panama Canal with free access to enter and exit. [sentence as heard] No one believed the threat of missiles in the Central American region, but there have already been threats from the Nicaraguans, who say they would accept the installation of missiles in their territory.

Therefore, I congratulate President Reagan for his courage, because he is not only placing his political career and his reelection but the success of his party on the line. You can be sure that no president in the world would do this if he were not fully convinced that the cause that he is defending is just.

[Question] This question is addressed to the defense minister. Earlier you said that personally you would like to issue a strong order on 1 May. What do you mean by that strong order? Second, it has been said that the need for U.S. advice in El Salvador is gradually making the armed forces turn over direction of the war to the United States.

[Vides Casanova] Regarding the first question, what I meant was that everyone expects that we will issue a hasty order so as to be favorably viewed by the people. I tell you that above personal interests, and rather than undertaking an action that will lead to a personal benefit, one must carry out actions that will benefit the country and the armed forces. Changes will occur at the right moment, and when my conscience is clear that the change that I am going to undertake is necessary. It is at that time that we will make changes, but not just to be in anyone's good graces.

Regarding the second question on the U.S. advisers, the training they are giving is basic training at the level of leading troops against subversion. So far we have not had any advice regarding the general direction of the war. Therefore, I think we have sufficient capability to maintain the leadership of the war without having anyone come to meddle in the internal affairs of the armed forces. [passage indistinct]

[Question indistinct]

[Magana] He had commented that in the past 3 years the U.S. economic and military aid to El Salvador has amounted to $1 billion, and that people are asking how much longer it will last. I told him that the military aid had been prolonged for 3 years due to the fact that we have been receiving it in small, reduced doses; and that it is difficult to predict when it might end. In the case of the economic aid, it has enabled us to remain afloat, but there are some favorable economic indicators that the economy might have reversed its downward trend in the past 3 years. I said I was optimistic that this situation will change. I concluded by saying the only thing I could say in general terms, that I was sure that it would not be necessary for another 3 years.

I will now read the text of the declaration, which is going to be distributed to you, which is our official response to President Reagan's speech yesterday afternoon:

The President of the United States of America, upon addressing the joint session of his country's Congress yesterday, was a truthful and objective speaker about the situation in Central America and particularly in El Salvador. The four basic points he discussed in his speech are fully identified with the development of our political program, and therefore we are pleased to note the support for the creation of democratic institutions, implementation of the reforms and respect for individuals; the support for the region's economic development; the support for the security of the Central America countries for the purpose of achieving political stabilization and consolidation of the reforms; and the support for dialogue as long as it makes possible a solution to the regional problems and the participation of the political forces in an electoral process.

The President, upon denouncing foreign intervention in El Salvador's internal affairs, also expressed the desire of the U.S. Government to respect national decisions, orientations and solutions. Cooperation must take place with mutual respect, peace and democracy -- concepts that mean freedom. We Salvadorans will accept cooperation toward democracy, as properly understood in the text of the message.

This is the way we construe the cooperation that the President of the United States offers us. It is necessary to recall that the government of national unity, from its inception, set out to achieve the objectives of pacification, democratization, respect for human rights, a sustained economic recovery that would make it possible to consolidate and guarantee the democratization and reforms, and the achievement of a climate of security and confidence in the legal and institutional sectors to allow El Salvador to become stronger in the international field.

In this connection, my government undertook the urgent work of creating the commissions provided for in the Apaneca Pact to carry out the objectives and achieve credibility and confidence, internally and externally. At this moment, I can express satisfaction because the work that has been done has created the expected conditions, so much so that President Reagan yesterday echoed before the U.S. Congress the aspirations we outlined in my government's program in August of 1982.

If the essential objective of my government is the achievement of peace and stability domestically and regionally based on the democratic aspirations of the Central American peoples, the solidarity expressed in the U.S. President's speech to the nation can only be welcomed. Since the 1982 elections, El Salvador accepted the democratic objective that undoubtedly will be a positive contribution to the region's peace. A peaceful nation encourages its neighbors to consolidate democracy, and has enormous influence in the system of international detente that most of the developing countries promote, regardless of ideology.

In this sense, I want to take advantage of this opportunity to express on behalf of the Salvadoran people and Government our agreement with the stated objectives, and our hope that both chambers of Congress will see fit to approve the urgent support for Western democracy, which is seriously threatened by misunderstanding, violence and frustration based on the poverty and injustices that for many years our peoples suffered as a result of a tyrannical concept in the management of our destinies.

That is why I reiterate that it is essential that the honorable U.S. Congress give its firmest support to the objectives outlined by President Reagan.

To conlude, I wish to express my government's firm decision to continue the democratization and reform process outlined on 3 August 1982 in the basic platform of the government that I head.

This is a good opportunity, on the occasion of President Reagan's speech, to issue a call to the U.S. people, who have been subjected to a domestic misinformation campaign, so that faithful to their democratic traditions they will understand our people's struggle for democracy and freedom, fighting against common enemies and sharing common ideals. Thank you very much.

PAPER REPORTS ADDITIONAL MAGANA REMARKS

PA282313 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 28 Apr 83 pp 2, 23

[Text] "With sufficient military aid we would have already won the war...The U.S. Government's good will encounter limitations every 6 months, and to us this represents a slackening of our efforts against subversion," Salvadoran President Alvaro Magana said yesterday.

"This situation is favorable for the rebel groups," the president pointed out. He also said that if the certifications were made every year instead of every 6 months, it would be beneficial for the struggle in defense of democracy in El Salvador. "If U.S. aid for El Salvador is discontinued, this would reflect an intention to turn this country over to international communism, since this is who we are fighting," Magana said.

Magana also deplored the opinion of certain U.S. congressmen and the misinformation that exists at the international level. He stated that Mr Reagan's Republican government is doing what has to be done when a country like ours is struggling against international communism.

He said that if the United States had a Democratic government, it would do the same, that is, it would support giving more aid to our country "because the Democratic Party is against communism."

With this, Magana is underscoring the significance of democracy in the United States. "If there existed a Democratic regime in the United States at this moment," he stressed, "it would be in favor of giving more aid to El Salvador, due to the communist threat hanging over the country."

Statement

Asked about the situation of the war, the president stated: "We will win the war, even if the subversives continue to receive aid from Nicaragua and aid to El Salvador is discontinued, because we have the people's support. With the limited aid that we have received we have managed to maintain control, and we will continue to do so," Magana stressed.

U.S. Troops Would Not Come

Magana clarified that the U.S. Army is not willing to send troops to El Salvador "unless Cuba were to bring in its troops from Angola."

With this statement, President Magana made it clear that the United States would act immediately in case of a direct intervention from Cuba, Nicaragua or any other nation.

RADIO VENCEREMOS REPORTS ON FMLN ACTIVITIES

Castillo on Army Prospects

PA271521 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0230 GMT 26 Apr 83

["Message to the Salvadoran people and military" from former Defense Minister Col Francisco Adolfo Castillo, being held by guerrilla forces in Morazan Department -- live or recorded]

[Text] I again address the Salvadoran people, particularly my comrades in arms, because I feel that the developments of the last few days are of great importance in objectively evaluating the war and the future of our dear homeland. Militarily speaking, the most recent developments confirm what I said in a previous message about the serious danger facing the armed forces.

A few weeks ago, forces of the rapid deployment Ramon Belloso Infantry Battalion were decimated in the vicinity of San Isidro, located in the southern area of Morazan Department. As was widely reported by both foreign and local press, a unit belonging to the Ramon Belloso Battalion was nearly annihilated and another was broken up. The armed forces reported 37 deaths, but the guerrillas reported many more. I estimate that the Ramon Belloso Battalion suffered no less than 50 fatalities. In addition, dozens of its troops were wounded.

This is a very important development, because it involves a blow to our special forces. Worse still, this was a defeat inflicted on a battalion that has the best possible equipment and that received training in the United States itself. I think it is important to briefly analyze the reason for this blow to our special forces.

First, it must be borne in mind that the Ramon Bellosos Battalion, like the other special battalions, was conceived, as its name says, as a rapid deployment force. In other words, these forces are supposed to be available at any time to go anywhere in the country.

The special battalions were not created to undetake security missions in given areas or towns, yet this is the mission that these forces are presumably fulfilling.

So, what has happened? Simply that the local forces have been badly beaten, particularly since July 1982. The large number of troops who surrender in the early stages of fighting demonstrates the state of demoralization and the feeling of defeat affecting these forces. Until late July 1982, the guerrillas either seriously demoralized or crippled the military garrisons in El Paraiso and Chalatenango, the 5th Brigade in La Union, the 3d Infantry Brigade in San Miguel, Detachment No. 5 in Usulutan, the 6th Brigade in La Union and the command post in San Francisco Goteras.

The situation affecting the Army's forces in eastern El Salvador is so grave that even the rapid deployment forces assigned to the area, such as the Atonal and the Cuscatlan Battalions, have been assigned ground defense missions and are virtually as neutralized as the local forces in the area. Even the Ramon Belloso Battalion, the Army's best military unit, is tied to the land here in Morazan.

Thus, as a result of this situation, the armed forces have had to use the rapid deployment battalions as local forces because the other forces no longer guarantee the security of positions. They can no longer guarantee the security of the strategic city of San Francisco Goteras, in the case of Morazan Department. At this moment, the Belloso Battalion is ensuring the security of Osicala, Delicias de Concepcion, (?Yoloaiquin), (Cerro El Tigre), El Coyol and other minor positions. As previously took place with the local forces, the Ramon Belloso Battalion is now subject to attrition, losing many weapons to the enemy and suffering many deaths, including [word indistinct] officers and NCO's.

This blow to the Belloso Battalion proves that the guerrillas have a greater combat capacity than the best units in the armed forces. In other words, it must be borne in mind that the blow at San Isidro was dealt to the best of the special battalions. Therefore, if the FMLN has the capacity to strike at the cream of the special forces, it follows that FMLN actions against forces of lesser ability are crippling blows to the armed forces.

This situation has a huge impact on other forces' morale. It has an impact on the morale of both privates and officers, which is only logical. All of them wonder what might happen to them if the guerrillas can do this to the Ramon Belloso Battalion. You will remember that by January and February of last year we were confident that the Belloso would be ready to guarantee the elections and to defeat the FMLN militarily. They [words indistinct] political defeat on 28 March.

(?This is) our idea, more or less. It can be said that the situation was not serious at the beginning. Albeit not with optimal results, the Ramon Belloso Battalion was indeed acting as a rapid deployment force. We though that in time and with more experience it would produce better results. The results have been exactly the opposite, however, because it is obvious that the qualitative and quantitative growth of the guerrilla forces is proportionatelly higher than that of the armed forces. This situation has placed us in the same position we were facing several months ago. In other words, the armed forces must now create special battalions, not to gain the advantage but merely to survive.

The armed forces are in danger. All factors in a political and military analysis point to their defeat. Due to the difficult military situation faced by the armed forces, the U.S. Government has drafted a growth plan that will be fully supported and partially financed by North Americans. I will discuss this in a moment.

It has been publicly announced that five new special battalions are going to be trained, not repeat, to create an advantage over the FMLN but simply to ensure the armed forces' survival. The addition of five new battalions is easier said than done, for difficulties exist. There are economic, military and political problems.

First, it must be remembered that if five traditional infantry battalions are to be trained, the government will have to spend some 15 million colones a year to cover salaries and other administrative expenses. However, if it is to train five rapid deployment battalions, the government's estimated expenses would be 27.5 million colones a year. In both cases, this investment by the government [word indistinct] would further worsen the war economy into which our country has definitely entered. It must also be borne in mind that we have referred only to salary and administrative expenses; there is also the problem of the facilities in which these battalions will be quartered. I estimate that expenses to cover new installations and to refurbish and refurnish old existing installations would total (?at least) 7.5-10 million colones. Even talking about spending this amount of money amid the crisis we are experiencing is a harrowing experinece. Virtually all the country's revenues would be devoted to the military sector, to the armed forces, and this would be to the detriment of the people's great needs.

In other words, the United States will finance the preparation of the new special troops and their equipment, but the maintenance costs, administrative expenses and salaries must be paid by the state. This is where the critical situation prevailing in the country will grow even worse.

It might also be mentioned that the government's efforts to maintain the reform program would then have not only political but military motivation. We must remember that the agrarian reform program does not include peasant beneficiaries. The land affected by the reform is owned by the state, and the cooperatives that farm it are organized, for the most part, by wage-earning groups. This means that the government's efforts to ensure that the cooperatives harvest their crops, primarily cotton; are basically intended to promote an economic base for obtaining foreign exchange, which would be used to support the war economy and to pay for the organization of new special forces.

The personnel problems created by the organization of five new infantry battalions are not easily solved either. For example, five battalions need a regular amount of officers. So, in order to meet this need, the armed forces will have to promote military school cadets before the established date. This means that these officers will have serious deficiencies in leadership and troop organization ability.

These new units will also need some 30 staff sergeants and some 400 sergeants, who will be taken, if no provisions are made from other military units. This means that local forces will be left even weaker than they are now by the removal of their best men. In addition to other problems, like their troops' deficiency, I believe that they will need approximately 3 months' combat experience before the troops are capable of acceptable performance.

Besides their problems involving lodgings and others, the armed forces also have external problems, related to U.S. military aid.

We are all acquainted with the arguments that have taken place in the U.S. Congress and Senate over military aid to our government. Our country has a deplorable image in the United States in terms of human rights. This is a problem that cannot be solved overnight. The U.S. Congress is becoming increasingly aware of the armed forces' actions, and these were reported to the U.S. Government in its discussion of military aid for our country.

This might move us to think about seeking aid from other countries, but this is not so easily done. It is difficult to purchase war equipment from other countries, for most weapons' manufacturers refuse to make any military deals because of the situation here. Another problem is that these countries have no stock of the weapons we need, which means that we would have to wait until the weapons are manufactured, even after a sales agreement is reached. Our current circumstances render any such delay absurd, for the war might even have ended in the meantime.

In addition, the purchase of weapons in other countries would introduce the problem of diversified military equipment, a serious logistical problem, for we would no longer have standarized weapons.

So what do these new military units represent? They represent additional supplies, outfits and training, but they also means that the government will have to pledge itself to the U.S. Government. They mean that the armed forces will become an army that defends U.S. interests increasingly.

There is another important factor to consider in analyzing reasons for the failure of all of the Army's plans: the support that the people give to the FMLN, because they are indeed giving the revolutionary army significant support. This is because the cause for which the FMLN is struggling is the people's cause. The massive support from the people and the military development achieved with practice is what gives the FMLN's army a noticeable superiority over the armed forces. This superiority was seen as early as June of last year, in the fighting over the Torola-San Fernando road, and was seen again in the recent fighting in San Isidro.

As I said previously, from June of last year to date the guerrillas have defeated the local forces and the reinforcements sent to save the local forces, and we have lost large areas formerly controlled by the local forces; the guerrillas have even defeated our tactics involving massive concentration of force, which have proven ineffective in reducing their power or in recovering lost terrain.

The picture is made even worse when the rapid deployment battalions have lost their justification, in terms of the kind of mission they are supposed to carry out in the war. I repeat: These special battalions are now being used, like local forces, in missions to withhold terrain in specific areas or towns. They have begun to enter the vicious circle of wearing themselves out and undergoing defeats, just like our local forces. This five the guerrilla forces a clear chance of victory and is of great concern to the U.S. Government officials.

The U.S. Government's concern is so great that it has lost its confidence in the Salvadoran military officers' ability to conduct the war. That is why it feels that there is a need to increase the number of military advisors, who will also participate directly in the action, in certain cases.

Many military leaders and officers are aware that the tactics used by the U.S. advisors are no good, because El Salvador is not Vietnam.

This is a situation that the U.S advisors do not understand, but the armed forces must accept their viewpoint without argument, because the foundation of the Salvadoran army's doctrine is U.S doctrine. The military commanders' inability to conduct the war against the guerrillas has been evident in the irrational use of the Air Force. It has reached the point where commanders request air support against noneconomic objectives that could be handled by their own forces.

This is absurd, because it means unnecessary use of the Air Force. Air Force Commander Colonel Juan Rafael Bustillo has been questioned by several officers about this. The situation reflects not only the army units' lack of ability and tactical plans but also inappropriate use of air support.

I was saying that all of these factors have forced the United States to increase the number of military advisors and its aid. The logical result of this situation is that our government and armed forces are increasingly dependent on and allied with the United States. This has become even more evident with the dismissal of General Garcia from the Defense Ministry. General Garcia's position was practically impossible, so the United States decided to get rid of him. However, the problem did not lie in whether or not to dismiss Garcia. The United States' problem was: who should replace General Garcia? The United States knew that the man who would replace General Garcia had to fulfill two requisites, in addition to seniority.

First, he had to be a military officer with sufficient political stature and ability to achieve unity or reconciliation of the various sectors of our armed forces, in order to solve the many problems therein. Second, he had to be a man with the ability to strategically command this war. This is where the real problem lies, because there just isn't a Salvadoran military officer who can fill these requisistes at the moment. Thus, the United States had to appoint General Eugenio Vides Casanova, who, though not the ideal man for this job, represents a partial solution to the problem for the time being.

The problem has grown worse, because the FMLN has taken the military initiative, putting the armed forces in a difficult situation. It is the guerrillas who are setting the pace in this war. Thus, the problem will persist, no matter who is appointed to conduct the war.

The problem was evident when Colonel Bustillo accused General Garcia of conducting the war incorrectly, his accusations based on the failure of the General Garcia's tactics, involving the concentration of large numbers of troops at a specific time, after which they are ordered to withdraw and to abandon terrain. This has had no results in 3 years of war.

It is clear that the army can implement the tactics suggested by the U.S. advisors, which includes the deployment of permanent troops in the areas controlled by the guerrilas and constant patrols and harassment of the guerrillas in an effort to gain the military initiative. The Army has started to apply these tactics, but what has happened is this: the missions should have been carried out by local forces but, because of their critical situation, the rapid deployment battalions were assigned to them instead. These missions thus neutralized the special forces, tied them down to terrain and, as an immediate result, they have been defeated.

The Belloso Battalion was left in Perquin; 3 weeks later it had to leave that position because of military pressure from the guerrillas. [Words indistinct] south of the department and it was here that a company was almost annihilated and another broken up. This means that the tactics proposed by Bustillo, as recommended by the North Americans, has also failed.

General Vides Casanova's arrival means that the Armed Forces will be even more subservient to the North Americans, implying a higher level of U.S. intervention in the general conduct of the war.

At this crucial moment in Central America, the U.S. support for the counterrevolution in Nicaragua and for a massive increase of military forces in Honduras, as well as the presence and leading role of North Americans in the Salvadoran conflict, point to a regionalization of the conflict that would have unforseen consequences for our countries. For this reason, my advice to my companeros is this: If the armed institution really wants peace and well-being, if responsible officers and other gentlemen really do not want the destruction of our institution, they must look for another solution.

Regardless of the path chosen for a solution, it must be considered that the country's situation, the military situation specifically, has changed greatly in the last 2 years; the FMLN has grown both quantitatively and qualitatively and this must be taken into consideration when looking for a solution.

There is still time for the members of our dear institution to think carefully and to set aside personal or group interests in favor of those of the people. Let's remember what we have said: Everything for the fatherland, the people and the armed forces united.

HONDURAS

GOVERNMENT ISSUES RESPONSE TO REAGAN SPEECH

PA281432 Tegucigalpa Domestic Service in Spanish 1130 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Communique Issued by the Honduran Government International Directorate on 27 April 1983 -- read by announcer]

[Text] The Honduran Government indentifies fully with the concepts that U.S. President Ronald Reagan expressed in his address to the members of a joint session of the U.S. Congress.

The U.S. President has understood with impressive clearness the nature of the Central American problem, its increasing gravity and the threat that it poses to the future of freedom in the hemisphere and the world.

As the representative of the people's will, which was freely expressed at the polls, President Roberto Suazo Cordova's Government fully shares in President Reagan's call for the U.S. representatives, senators and public to firmly and resolutely support those nations that have chosen democracy, that are opposed to totalitarian expansion and that, despite their deep economic and social crisis, are making a tremendous effort within the framework of human dignity, justice and peace.

Our country, as is publicly know, has committed its best efforts to the achievement of civilized solutions to the tensions in the region and that work against harmonious coexistence in this explosive area. Therefore, it is not surprising that we look with favor on this message, which is of basic importance to the future of our peoples, and that, on expressing our agreement with its timeliness and content, we should appeal to the democratic conscience of the U.S. Congress so that, in keeping with the spirit of the founding fathers of that great nation, it will extend firm solidarity to countries like ours, which are fighting resolutely for a more humane future in peace and freedom.

RADIO NETWORK AIRS VIEWS ON REAGAN SPEECH

PA282104 Tegucigalpa Cadena Audio Video in Spanish 1300 GMT 28 Apr 83

["Editorial Opinion of Radio America's National Network," by Rodrigo Wong Arevalo]

[Excerpts] [Monitored in progress]...something very special if we bear in mind that, if not all, at least the vast majority of our people listened last night to the anguished call made by the U.S. President. In our opinion, aside from the dramatic tone he gave to his speech, the U.S. President only added a small innovation to the current U.S. policy on the conflict in Central America. As witnessed by the whole world, Reagan's only concern since he assumed the U.S. presidency has been to maintain a world hegemony, which the United States has been slowly losing due to the constant blunders in its foreign policy.

It is terrifying to think that our Central American countries have been caught in a crossfire. The United States only speaks of defending its own national security in order to justify the shipment of millions of dollars worth of arms. President Reagan admitted last night that immediate intervention in Central America with full U.S. military power means defending the United States' honor, and that not to do so means that U.S. credibility will crumble and its alliances will tend to weaken when other nations see how the United States allows another empire, namely the USSR, to expand its power through violence under the United States' nose.

We have become the focal point of the worldwide confrontation between two superpowers. The United States is now on the defensive against Soviet imperialism, which is daily devouring, bit by bit, land that was U.S. turf barely 10 years ago.

Gentlemen, there is no way we can escape getting involved in this dispute, which has not yet exploded, over world hegemony. We agree with international press analyses that President Reagan has said nothing new to convince anyone that he has more adequate solutions to bring peace back to the Central American area.

Even though communism is a threat, and even through it has become a tangible reality and has grown to unexpected proportions through the Sandinists, it is no less true that the United States is doing nothing to provide solutions other than war to check Marxism's advance.

Honduras currently has a constitutional government that was elected by the people, who massively went to the polls to elect the type of government they wanted. What has this government received from the U.S. Government by way of assistance? Only limited amounts of aid that smack more of alms than of support. The future the United States is offering us involves mostly military support against a Marxist attack abetted by Nicaragua and originating in Cuba or the Soviet Union. As a circus paradox and mocking irony, when this constitutional government assumed power, the U.S. government curtailed imports from Honduras and, in turn, increased the Nicaraguan regime's quota of such important products as sugar.

This was a tremendous, inconsiderate blow that portrays us throughout the world as a servile country of no interest to the United States. What sort of alliance is this? This shows that the United States is only interested in defending its security, while our countries go to the dickens.

Yesterday, when we listened to President Reagan, we finally became convinced that even in the United States there are sectors that do not share the idea of defending world hegemony, because they are more and more bent on preventing the government from carrying out its plans to reject international Marxism inroads in Central America militarily. It seems to us that some powerful U.S. political sectors feel that, in the same way that negotiations are being conducted with the USSR in Europe, negotiations must be held in Central America.

This is precisely the only contribution we think Reagan made yesterday. It has been learned that President Reagan accepts the idea of appointing a roving ambassador with great powers to even bring about a negotiated solution in El Salvador.

However, should the roving ambassador President Reagan plans to appoint manage to arrange a truce and reconciliation, albeit for a brief period, between Salvadoran guerrillas and the Salvadoran Government, the truce will be very brief, because the struggle will continue until power is obtained. We are, therefore, in a crossfire between the Marxists who want to bring us the Soviet system and the North Americans who are trying to reject such expansionism, which runs counter to the canned system they keep imposing on us.

REVOLUTIONARY GROUP CALLS FOR PEOPLE'S WAR

PA271951 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 21 Apr 83 p 2

[Text] Tegucigalpa -- Immediately after President Roberto Suazo Cordova spoke over Radio America denying the charges that Honduran territory is serving as a base for attacks on Nicaragua, the National Unity Directorate of the Revolutionary Movement of Honduras [DNU-MRH] denounced "the interventionist and warmongering policy that the Reagan Administration has imposed on the Honduran Government and Army."

In a clandestine communique, the DNU-MRH, which is composed of the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers, the Cinchonero Peoples Liberation Movement and the Morazanist Front for the Liberation of Honduras, charges that the Washington and Tegucigalpa governments "have turned Honduras into the counterrevolution's rearguard. The Honduran armed forces coordinate and participate in the actions taken by the genocidal Salvadoran Armed Forces and the Somozist task forces."

The Honduran insurgents charge that "strategic places, ports and airports in Honduras have been transformed into U.S. military bases. Hundreds of military advisers and CIA operatives operate in the country."

President Suazo Cordova also denied these facts, even though the installation of a powerful radar station near this capital, to permit the U.S. Army to control the airspace of several of the area's countries, could not be concealed.

The MRH charges that "they have turned eastern Honduras into a sanctuary for the Nicaraguan counterrevolution. They are preparing to allow our territory to be used as a training base for the Salvadoran Air Force and, in sum, have rendered our territory a stronghold of U.S. imperialism, have rendered the Honduran Army a war machine against its own and our sister peoples and have rendered Honduras a country th at is occupied by U.S. interventionists, Central American counterrevolutionaries and their Honduran puppets."

The document asserts that "all hopes and expectations expressed by the people in the last elections have been tossed aside.

"Betraying the goals of the liberal masses and the entire Honduran people, the ruling group, composed of Alvarez Martinez (reference to the armed forces chief) and Suazo Cordova, has degenerated into a military-pseudoliberal dictatorship that has increasingly surrendered the country to the voracious transnational companies, turning it into a blind instrument of the Reagan Administration's interventionist and warmongering policy in Central America."

The proclamation reasserts "the Morazanist determination TO DIE WITH FIRMNESS RATHER THAN TO ABANDON HONDURAS [capitalized words boldface as published] to the disorder in which it unfortunately finds itself today" and, "invoking its glorious image,...the DRU-MRH urges our people to rise up with bravery and determination in a people's revolutionary war to recover our national sovereignty and dignity and to win democracy, freedom, justice and peace."

Recounting the effects of the liberal government's economic and repressive policies, the opposition group invokes Lempira's [Historical Honduran Indian leader] indomitable rebelliousness and Francisco Morazan's revolutionary patriotism and asserts that "the democratic paths of the peoples' struggle having been exhausted, we declare a people's revolutionary war on the military-pseudoliberal dictatorship, its puppet army and North American imperialism."

Just yesterday, before leaving for Panama, Foreign Secretary Edgardo Paz Barnica met with U.S. Ambassador John Dimitri Negroponte, who complained that he is the victim of an alleged press campaign to discredit him -- which he said is being "coordinated in Nicaragua" -- to voice the hope that the U.S. Congress will approve the $48 million in military aid that is supposed to be granted to Honduras in 1984.

NICARAGUA

SPECIAL RADIO NETWORK CALLS FOR ANTI-U.S. RALLY

PA281619 [Editorial Report] Managua Radio Sandino Network in Spanish at 1200 GMT on 28 April is monitored broadcasting live in what the announcer calls a "Radio Brotherhood for Combativeness" [Hermandad Radial por la Combatividad], a national radio network.

The usual Managua Radio Sandino Network newscast at 1200 GMT is not broadcast, and the network broadcasts presumably live telephone calls from representatives of mass organizations and neighborhood Sandinist Defense Committees [CDS] in reaction to the 27 April speech by President Reagan. The announcer repeatedly calls on the Nicaraguan people to participate in "the combative march at 1600 today to Plaza de la Revolution"

Mass organization spokesmen call in to reject the "threats and aggression" from "fascist Reagan" and to state their support for the Sandinist government.

At 1219 GMT the announcer states: "We are in the Radio Brotherhood for Combativeness. We invite all the Nicaraguan people, all our brothers, to be at Bolivar Avenue at 1600, from where the people will march to Plaza de la Revolucion to state their rejection of the aggression that the Reagan Government wants to impose. We are receiving telephone calls."

A militia woman calls in to invite the Sandinist People's Milita [MPS] to the 1600 rally "to repudiate the maneuvers of U.S. imperialism, the maneuvers of the CIA."

At 1227 GMT, Father Fernando Cardenal, deputy coordinator of the 19 July Sandinist Youth, speaks to Nicaraguan youth, saying: "Nicaraguans, in view of the call, full of lies, that Mr Reagan made to the two houses of Congress and to the two U.S. parties, asking them to join him in his criminal policy against Central America, the 19 July Sandinist Youth convokes all the young people of Jinotega to take to the streets this afternoon to respond to the gringo intentions to destroy our fatherland." After saying that the United States has not learned from its Vietnam and Cuba experience, Cardenal adds: "We convoke all the people of Nicaragua to take to the streets, to join the people, with whatever they have in their hands." Later on he adds: "After listening to the mad, to the criminal speech full of lies and offenses against our fatherland, no young man can remain neutral or apathetic. All young people, all Nicaraguans, must take whatever weapons we have at our disposal, we have to take the dignity of Sandino and Zeledon, which the people have, to continue showing our friends and the whole world that these people are ready to die defending their fatherland."

Another caller, Commander Dora Maria Tellez, summarizes portions of Mr Reagan's speech to Congress and closes by warning: "They must realize in their aggression against our country, that before they destroy Nicaragua, they must first destroy the people, all the Nicaraguans." She also calls on the people to participate in a combative march that will show the Nicaraguan people's disposition "to face the greatest and most recent threat against our country."

The Radio Brotherhood network continues as of 1600 GMT. The following stations are heard in network: Managua Radio Corporacion, Chinandega Radio 19 de Julio, Matagalpa Radio Insurreccion, Managua Domestic Service, Managua Radio Sandino, Managua Radio Noticias, Managua Radio Mundial, Managua Radio Deportes, Managua Radio Catolica, Managua Radio Reloj, Leon Radio Dario, Managua Radio Guguense, Managua Radio Canal 130, Leon Radio Venceremos, and Managua Radio Minuto.

The following audible transmitters are not in network: Grenada Radio Sport, Masaya Radio Masaya, Carazo Ondas del Sur.

Anti-U.S. Rally in Managua

PA290123 [Editorial Report] Managua Domestic Service in Spanish, in the national network "Radio Brotherhood for Combativeness," at 2330 GMT on 28 April begins live coverage from the Plaza of the Revolution in Managua of a rally "in reply" to President Reagan's 27 April speech before the U.S. Congress.

At 2343 GMT Lucio Jimenez, secretary general of the Sandinist Workers Federation, is introduced and begins to speak. Jimenez starts by saying that Reagan in the White House should be aware that the Nicaraguan people are waiting for the Somozist traitors in order to annihilate them. He says that the Reagan administration has been working to try and overthrow the people's power, and goes on to recount allegations of U.S. "aggressions." Jimenez asks who Reagan is trying to fool with his request for funds for governments of the area. He says that the money is not going to buy food for Central America, but to help the "genocidal" regimes of El Salvador and Honduras. He calls on all workers of the world, especially U.S. workers, to mobilize to stop Reagan's new "interventionist plans." He ends his speech at 2353 GMT.

At 2354 GMT (Brenda Rocha), representing the Sandinist Peoples Militia and Nicaraguan youth, is introduced and begins to speak. She tells of how she lost an arm in defense of the fatherland, and of her feelings upon learning of Reagan's "slanderous" speech. She says that Reagan will never own Nicaragua or El Salvador, and concludes at 2358 GMT by offering to donate her remaining arm for the revolution.

At 0001 GMT on 29 April (Lombardo Martinez), representing the patriotic front of the revolution, is introduced and begins to speak. (Martinez) says that the peoples are beginning to awaken to the fact that the main factor in their poverty is the United States and the Wall Street millionaires. He says that Reagan is the supporter of these millionaires' economic interests in the world, and that he wants to bring the Vietnam experience to the Americas. He concludes at 0006 GMT by saying that, just as the United States once won its independence from Great Britain, so they will obtain their economic liberty despite Reagan's opposition.

At 0007 GMT Msgr Arias Caldera is introduced as the "Monsignor of the poor." Caldera salutes the "oppressed" Nicaraguan people and condemns "yesterday's farce" at the U.S. Congress. He says that this is the time for unity to defend the poor and the humble. He calls for an "authentic interpretation" of the gospel, saying that some use the gospel for their own interests. He adds that if they are ready to defend their land as David once did, their soil will never be occupied. Caldera concludes his speech at 0036 GMT, and the announcer resumes his description of the activities taking place in the plaza.

More on Rally

PA281656 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1545 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Managua, 28 Apr (ACAN-EFE) -- The FSLN has called for popular rallies throughout the country today in support of the Government of National Reconstruction and to repudiate President Ronald Reagan's policy toward Nicaragua.

Commander Dora Maria Tellez, vice president of the State Council, has been making these calls for demonstrations over a national radio network since last night.

In Sandinist language, the mobilization is called a "combat readiness march," and the plan is for participants in the rallies to carry all kinds of weapons, from rifles to sticks, "to respond to Reagan's threats to set fire to Central America." Commander Tellez will make a preliminary analysis of the content of a statement made by President Reagan to a joint session of the U.S. Congress yesterday.

According to the Sandinist commander, in his speech in Washington, Reagan sought to "involve" the legislative branch and the U.S. people "in the new large-scale adventure that he is planning against Nicaragua." The State Council vice president said that today President Reagan will be shown that the Nicaraguan Army "is greater than he (Reagan) thinks, because all the people are up in arms."

"The combat march for sovereignty will also be a message to the U.S. people, who should know that Nicaragua is prepared to defend its future," Commander Tellez added.

"Before it can eliminate Nicaragua, the Reagan Administration will have to eliminate all Nicaraguans," the commander said.

Tellez also said that the Sandinist mobilization will serve to demonstrate that, indeed, "our people are irate, because of the attacks and the invasion that the U.S. Administration has ordered against Nicaragua, which have already caused hundreds of deaths."

The main rally will take place this afternoon in the Plaza de la Revolucion in Managua, where the FSLN National Directorate will respond to the speech made by President Reagan in Washington on Wednesday afternoon.

More on Managua Reactions

PA281350 Buenos Aires LATIN in Spanish 1147 GMT 28 Apr 83

[By Agustin Fuentes]

[Excerpts] Managua, 28 Apr (LATIN-REUTER) -- Nicaragua's leftist government invited the people to stage protest marches today in response to President Ronald Reagan's call for greater military assistance for the anti-lefitst government in Central America. A representative of the Nicaraguan Government said over the radio that President Reagan's speech to a joint session of Congress last night on the Central American situation denigrated Nicaragua and its people. The radio message asked the people to take to the streets this afternoon "carrying rifles, machetes, sticks and any other kind of weapon to demonstrate the Nicaraguan people's ability to defend themselves from the aggression planned by Reagan."

The U.S. President, in an unusual appearance before a joint session of the U.S. Congress, said that Nicaragua is the spearhead of a communist threat designed to destabilize Central America "from the Panama Canal to the Mexican border." However, Nicaraguan leaders said that these words were actually designed to justify large-scale attacks against Nicaragua from neighboring Honduras, the United States' closest ally in the region.

Early this morning, Nicaragua placed its units stationed on the (?border) on "maximum combat alert" to forestall attacks from Honduras, where Nicaragua claims the United States organized the infiltration of some 2,000 rightist exiles who have been struggling for the past 2 months to overthrow the Sandinist Government.

In El Salvador, government leaders praised Reagan's call for the adoption of joint military, political and economic measures to bring peace and progress to Central America. Salvadoran Defense Minister Gen Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova said that the Salvadoran people and armed forces are grateful to Reagan for his efforts to sustain democracy in the region. He said that Reagan's message "will awaken the U.S. people to the threat of communism and the danger that it represents for the hemisphere."

Socialist Leader Scores U.S.

PA281855 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Luis Sanchez Sancho, of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, and Alejandro Solorzano, of the General Confederation of Independent Workers, speak about Reagan's policy toward Central America, which this evening is to reach the stupidest extreme.

[Begin recording] [Sanchez] It is evident to us that the U.S. Government is reaching the highest degree of irresponsibility and stupidity in its management of the Central American situation. This is made evident by the increase in the aggressive military activities being carried out against the Central American people, particularly against the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan people. It is obvious that this situation will reach a climax with Reagan's speech before the legislature of the United States. That will certainly be an effort to secure congressional support to go on, to continue, increasing the intervention, aggression and meddling in the domestic affairs of the region, and to create in this part of the world a very explosive situation that could bring serious consequences, dangerous consequences, not only to the Central American countries, but also to all Latin America and to international security and world peace.

[Solorzano] In his madness, Ronald Reagan is trying, and will try, today, in front of the two houses of Congress, to move and to convince all the senators, to make them believe the bunch of lies he plans to say about Nicaragua. He has referred to some planes that were stopped in Brazil when they were on their way to Nicaragua with arms from Libya. Nicaragua has the right to arm itself. War is being waged on Nicaragua and Nicaragua has the right to get armed. We don't want a war, because we could improve our economy working in peace and investing not in arms but in the natural resources we have. But facing the war that imperialism is imposing on us, we have every right to purchase weapons to defend our country's sovereignty. [end recording]

NEWSMAN CRITICIZES NEWS 'TRANSNATIONALS'

PA281810 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Apr 83

["Red Hot" feature program: interview with Danilo Aguirre, secretary general of the Latin American Federation of Journalists, deputy director of EL NUEVO DIARIO and member of the board of directors of the Union of Nicaraguan Journalists; no place given; interviewer not identified -- live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] Danilo, when we speak of news transnationals, we are speaking of three which manage or manipulate information: Two are U.S. -- UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, UPI, and the ASSOCIATED PRESS, AP -- and sometimes another news agency is noticed doing the same -- ACAN-EFE, AGENCIA CENTROAMERICANA DE NOTICIAS -EFE, a Spanish news agency. Is there meddling or manipulation in those news agencies?

[Answer] Of course. This is obvious in the U.S. news transnationals. Some listeners could think that what I am saying has been said again and again, but there are names, there are dates, there are founders. Anyone willing to study the history of these agencies will realize how they have been publicly penetrated and are still penetrated by the CIA. They form part of two [words indistinct], and the U.S. Government cannot fail to have meddled in these agencies. This is in line with the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism.

Throughout history, European news transnationals have operated and still operate in line with the (?imperialist) interests of their particular countries, at a given moment, in line with the intelligence cause of their own country, but also in line with CIA penetration.

[Question] (?Are we talking about) LATIN REUTER?

[Answer] Of course. The British news agency also responds to a penetration plan within the history of the British empire.

However, a 1973 report established that none of the transnational agencies, with the exception of the agencies of socialist countries, was free from penetration by the CIA. Absolutely all of them had been penetrated -- some from above, others through the middle, others from beneath -- but all of them had been penetrated. In addition to CIA penetration, which sometimes is overt and sometimes is subtle, the particular interests of the home countries of these agencies also lead to the manipulation of information when specific events occur, for example, when the REUTER agency reported the British aggression against the Argentine people in the case of the Malvinas Islands.

During the tour of South America that I just concluded, however, I noticed a curious phenomenon: I talked to the progressive and democratic journalists in these countries and almost all of them agreed that, as regards the appointment of agency representatives, progressive changes have taken place at AFP. This, however, has not been the case case with EFE. We assume, of course, that this is to be a slow process under the new Spanish Government, but certain actions carried out by EFE in this hemisphere remind one of those performed by the other transnational agencies that we have mentioned.

[Question] We talked about EFE yesterday, or the previous day, several days ago, perhaps on Saturday or Thursday. There was talk that the new chairman of the agency's board of directors -- by the name of Mrs (Berrocal), I believe -- is recognized not only as a fervent anticommunist, but as anti-Sandinist and also opposed to revolutionary movements. She is managing ACAN-EFE in Central America. People sometimes get confused because they wonder how Nicaragua can criticize ACAN-EFE, since it belongs to Spain, which is a Socialist country. The transnationals' club however, does not necessarily reach agreements with the countries. How has the fact that Spain is a Socialist country, or is becoming a Socialist country, changed the semantics of ACAN-EFE?

[Answer] Well, as I have already told you, I visited almost all of the South American countries with the excepttion of Uruguay and Paraguay, and the journalists there (?agreed) that there has been no change in connection with EFE's management and responsibilities. According to them, the agency is still under the control of a rightist and its style and treatment of the material is similar to that of the international U.S. agencies. There have been some exceptions, but these can be attributed more to the personal performances of some of the officials than to the agency's policy.

I would like to explain this: EFE, not ACAN-EFE, is a Spanish concern. [Words indistinct] has taken some steps; for example, the dismissal of (Luis Maria Nicholson) from the agency's direction. We will discuss him later on. They dismissed him and instead appointed a member of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party [PSOE], who has vast experience in the field of progressive information. (?This is already) an advance. I suppose this will gradually lead to the necessary changes within the agency. However, we all know that despite the large number of votes obtained, the PSOE's situation -- in the face of the country's entire political development, of the structures inherited from the Francois dictatorship, and of the domestic economic situation -- is not conducive to speedy advancements.

However, I want to explain the ACAN-EFE situation in detail. ACAN-EFE is a commercial organization established in Central America, based in Panama, and later joined by the Central American newspapers.

For instance, when ACAN-EFE was founded here, the sharholders included -- and still include -- the newspaper NOVEDADES, owned by the Somoza family; the newspaper LA PRENSA: El Salvador's EL DIARIO DE HOY; and Costa Rica's LA NACION. In short, economic support was given to a commercial plan that involved a flow of information aimed at Central America and, through Panama, EFE's central flow of information. This concern was to operate as a corporation. This is how ACAN-EFE, or EFE's Central American service, emerged. This is how it still operates.

I suppose that in line with the revolutionary style -- which is not too familiar with these things, and in addition is shamefully [words indistinct] -- the BARRICADA companeros have never bothered to find out the truth about this.

One of the current directors at LA PRENSA is an ACAN-EFE director, a vice president of something like that. The same thing is seen with the reactionary press in El Salvador, Guatemala and Costa Rica.

[Question] We would like to go on talking with Companero Danilo Aguirre, but we know that he will be leaving again in a few hours. One last thing: What role must the progressive and revolutionary newsmen play in the face of this campaign that the CIA has launched against Nicaragua?

[Answer] Although lacking in resources, organizations such as the Latin American Federation of Journalists must carry out a huge task: Coordinating with those fellow newsmen of this continent who are true professionals so that, through their columns or programs in the media, or those that their organizations may have obtained as a result of the legal situation in their respective countries, or through their alternate news media, or by systematically approaching the United Nations, we may advance in the direction of a new international information order. In short, we must organize all this energy, this entire challenge, to defend the progressive peoples' positions.

This is a titanic struggle because the traditional press, the big press that I have mentioned, is the one with the resources and the tradition, the one backed by the empire and its intelligence agency, its Inter-American Press Association, and its (?occasional) ghost news agencies, backed in short by all the technological and economic resources bestowed upon them.

However, the journalists [words indistinct]. By waging a struggle for a new national information order in their own countries, the journalists can somehow gradually push for a new international information order. For a very long time, the Third World countries have been striving at the United Nations to establish such an order.

This is just one of several things, however. Meanwhile, there is the alternative press and the channeling of information through other campaigns that result in marches and protests, which somehow (?obtain publicity). These are efforts that the newsmen must make at this critical moment for Latin America.

RADIO HAVANA REPORTS REAGAN, DODD SPEECHES

PA281653 Havana International Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Excerpt] Reagan asked the U.S. Congress to support the growing White House interventionism in Central America. To do so, he reiterated his hackneyed argument that conflicts in that region constitute a real threat to U.S. security.

Reagan reasserted his intention of increasing military aid to the Salvadoran regime and urged Congress to approve the $110 million he has requested for this purpose. He said that the USSR, Cuba and Nicaragua are trying to destabilize the whole Central American isthmus, from the Panama Canal to Mexico.

Reagan reserved his harshest attack for Nicaragua and said that the Sandinists have imposed a new dictatorship. The U.S. President mentioned, by reference only, the secret war the CIA is waging to overthrow the Sandinist government and said that the sole objective of these activities is to keep Nicaragua from supplying arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas. However, as on other occasions, Reagan submitted no evidence on this alleged arms traffic.

The head of the White House brushed aside negotiations as an avenue to resolve the Salvadoran conflict and insisted on supporting the so-called proposals of the San Jose Forum, which are aimed at isolating Nicaragua and blaming it for all tension in Central America.

The only thing new in Ronald Reagan's speech was the announcement that he will appoint a plenipotentiary ambassador as a special envoy to the area, a measure which, as a matter of fact, had been demanded by Congress.

Senator Christopher Dodd answered Reagan's speech on behalf of the Democratic lawmakers. He stressed that the government's policy on Central America is a formula that leads to failure and to a dark tunnel of endless interventionism. If there were no poverty, injustice and corruption in Central America there would be no revolution in that area, Dodd noted.

TELEVISION COMMENTARY CRITICIZES REAGAN SPEECH

FL281620 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1245 GMT 28 Apr 83

[International commentary by Oscar Ferrer of the Revista de la Manana staff and GRANMA journalist Joaquin Rivery -- live]

[Excerpts] [Ferrer] Good morning, dear television viewers; good morning, Rivery.

Under pressure from the growing opposition that his Central America policy is meeting with in the U.S. Congress, President Ronald Reagan last night made an unusual appearance before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives in order to make an attempt to moderate that opposition which his Central American policy has been facing for a long time.

Leaving aside for a moment the content of the speech itself, it should be pointed out that this unusual appearance reflects President Reagan's desperate situation because of the resistance to his policy in Congress.

The President usually appears before Congress only once a year, in January, to deliver his State of the Union message, that is, to deal with internal affairs, not to discuss foreign policy problems.

Returning to the speech itself, we can say that Reagan tried, apart from distorting the real picture of Central American reality, to paint the most tyrannical regimes of the region as democratic systems and accused the Nicaraguan Government of really incredible things to make it look like a truly infernal system. The core of the speech consisted of attacks against the Nicaraguan Government and a defense of Alvaro Magana's Salvadoran regime. All this, of course, was loaded with cheap anticommunist rhetoric. Those attacks and distortions by Reagan only show his desperate situation in the face of the opposition in Congress to his Central American policy.

[Rivery] Yes, I think it is very necessary to stress this. As you have explained, Reagan's appearance before Congress is a very unusual thing, which does not normally occur in the United States. The fact that Reagan delivered the speech shows quite clearly that he has to meet internal opposition to his Central American and Caribbean policy -- not only the opposition in Congress but also the opposition of the U.S. population -- because the speech, while delivered to Congress, is also aimed at the U.S. people. Let us not forget that elections are upcoming in the United States.

The dramatic speech is not aimed at the Democratic opposition and this should be taken into account in order to measure the degree of opposition in Congress to Reagan's policy; it is aimed not only at the Democratic opposition, but also at his own Republican Party, because Reagan called for a bipartisan policy regarding Central America, which means that he has problems, even within his own party, of supporting the race of aggression he has launched in Central America.

The tone of the speech is certainly dramatic. Reagan is finding himself in a very tight corner and therefore, he is using that tone. In addition, the speech is very bellicose. It is full of attacks on Nicaragua, the Salvadoran guerrillas and against all who Reagan feels are against his Central American policy; Cuba, the Soviet Union and Grenada. He attacked everyone in his speech yesterday. But he really did not say anything new. In yesterday's Reagan speech the same warlike and aggressive policy was repeated that his administration has been conducting for a long time. There were no new elements. The only point that may be considered as new, is Reagan's announcement of the appointment of a roving ambassador for Central America, whose mission, of course, would be to defend, as Reagan's representative, his government's policy in that region in the present situation. Reagan's appointment of the new ambassador to attend directly to those problems is a condition already imposed by Congress when it rejected a request for $60 million and cut it in half only a few days ago.

Another thing we should keep in mind is that Reagan did not mention any peace initiative in his speech. At no time did he speak of undertaking an initiative leading to a peaceful solution in the Central American and Caribbean region. He simply limited himself to confirming his policy, more or less as he has done on earlier occasions, using a bellicose tone which shows how dangerous this U.S. Administration is.

Reagan's speech is incredible, he put everything exactly the wrong way around. All was said the wrong way. Regarding Nicaragua, I would like to remind you of something else. Reagan said that he could not believe that there was a majority in Congress advising passivity to all that is happening in Central America. It is a dangerous phrase, because if no one advises passivity, then aggression is advised and Reagan's aggressivity is not advisable. He is normally aggressive and he intends to follow that line to the last consequences, and that is dangerous.

Regarding El Salvador, Reagan said the same as always. He again attacked Nicaragua for helping the Salvadoran guerrillas and practically held up Magana's regime as a model democracy that does not lack anything whatsoever. His apology was, of course, made with the intention of asking for more arms. He admitted that there were still a few human rights problems, but he did not give any importance to that in the speech.

[Ferrer] Yes, Rivery, it can definitely be said in conclusion that Reagan's speech to the Congress plenary session did not contain any new points of view. It only repeated the already well-known accusations and arguments for his Central American policy. In sum, this unusual appearance of the U.S. President showed that he continues to have serious difficulties getting his Central American policy accepted by Congress and that he is making an effort to maintain his course of aggression and interference.

MALMIERCA TO NONALIGNED MEETING IN NEW DELHI

FL281230 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1200 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Bonn -- Cuban Foreign Relations Minister Isidoro Malmierca has made a stopover in this city during his trip to New Delhi, where he will participate in a special meeting of 11 foreign ministers from countries that are members of the Nonaligned Movement. During the meeting the possibility will be explored for representatives of the movement to visit developed countries in order to explain the position of the nonaligned countries regarding the current economic world situation and to seek measures to improve the difficult conditions of the developing countries, according to what was agreed upon at the seventh summit meeting of the movement.

Several delegations which will participate in the limited conference of foreign ministers from the nonaligned countries have begun to arrive in New Delhi. The meeting which will have sessions during 2 days in the Culture Palace in New Delhi will be opened tomorrow by Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao.

SCIENCE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE

FL281450 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] The 1983 plan for scientific-technical cooperation between the French Office of Science and Technology Research for Overseas Countries [abbreviation indistinct] and the Cuban Academy of Sciences has been signed in this capital. The agreement was signed by (Pierre Labeaux), president of [abbreviation indistinct] and Wilfredo Torres, president of the Cuban Academy of Sciences. The agreement covers bilateral cooperation in the analysis of soil, oceanography and training of specialists. It also provides for the expansion of exchanges including those related with tropical agriculture, public health, world economy research and hydrography.

REPORTAGE ON RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Flavio Bravo on Namibia

FL281735 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1532 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] In Paris today, Flavio Bravo Pardo reiterated Cuba's unyielding and solidarity commitment in support of Namibia's struggle for its independence and of SWAPO [South West African People's Organization], the only legitimate representative of that nation.

The head of the Cuban delegation to the international conference in support of the Namibian people's struggle stressed that the enemies of that cause should be firmly repudiated by the international community.

In his speech to the forum being held in the French capital, Bravo Pardo said there is no government more isolated, nor had there ever been such universal disapproval or such a number of legal sanctions as have been imposed on the inhuman and brutal apartheid regime.

The racist regime of Pretoria, he said, is the oppressor of the great masses of South Africa, a colonialist exploiter of Namibia and an aggressive and expansionist agent of imperialism in southern Africa. The self-named champions of democracy and human rights are the ones blocking the world community from putting an end to the shameful apartheid regime, Flavio Bravo said. The head of the Cuban delegation stressed that the Reagan administration, with its policies of quasi-blackmail, encourages the South African regime in its criminal attacks on the free states of Africa. In this connection, he cited that southern Angola was occupied, Mozambique suffers continuing aggression, just as Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Seychelles have been subjected to destabilizing actions at the hands of the Pretoria regime.

South Africa and the United States, the fascists and Mr Reagan, fight against history and try to delay the day which must inevitably come: the end of apartheid, Flavio Bravo asserted. The maneuver, which the United States and South Africa have tried so hard to impose, has been to link the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, he said. But he stressed that that maneuver had been rejected by many world forums, particularly by the Seventh Nonaligned Movement Summit in New Delhi. In this regard, he quoted a portion of the speech delivered by Fidel at the summit, in which he denounced that U.S. maneuver. In that speech, Fidel pointed out that the independence of Namibia, the total and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops and putting an an end to all aggressions and threats against Angola would create and conditions for the government of Luanda and our government to decide on the gradual withdrawal of Cuban forces in the mutually-agreed span of time.

Del Valle Addresses Frelimo Congress

FL290052 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] In his speech before the fourth Frelimo Congress, Sergio del Valle Jimenez, member of Cuba's Communist Party Politburo, stated that Frelimo is holding its grand party meeting under great tensions unleashed by the policy of blackmail and aggression of U.S. imperialism.

Sergio del Valle explained that the United States is attempting to maintain military superiority all over the world with an insane arms race. He said those attempts go from the deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles aimed at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to the deployment of intermediate range missiles in Africa to threaten the independent states in the region.

Elsewhere in his speech, the Cuban leader stressed that the Cubans solidarize with their African brothers in ideology and spirit of class of working people as well as the common blood which was spilled on Cuban soil during the struggle for definitive independence.

Rodriguez Meets With Tanzanian Planning Minister

FL281415 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Politburo and vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers, received Kighoma Malima, Tanzanian minister of economic affairs and planning, who is in our country attending the sixth session of the Cuba-Tanzania Intergovernmental Commission on Cooperation.

During their meeting, they discussed aspects of the international economic situation, particularly the financial problems of developing countries, and reviewed the results of the bilateral economic cooperation.

Shortly before the meeting, an urgent protocol effective through 1989 was signed in this capital. The protocol covers important matters in the fields of health, education, construction, agriculture and sports. The signing of the protocol concluded the sixth Cuba-Tanzania intergovernmental session.

Congolese Cooperation Talks Open

FL282009 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1902 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] For the purpose of examining bilateral cooperation in the fields of public health, cattle industry, construction, agriculture and education, the fourth meeting of the Cuban-Congolese Intergovernmental Commission opened today at this capital's Sierra Maestra Hotel.

The Cuban side is headed by Ramon Darias, minister president of the State Commission for Standardization, who stressed the efforts of our delegation to strengthen the Cuban-Congolese cooperation ties. He noted that unity must be the principle observed by Cuba and Congo in the face of imperialist maneuvers vainly bent on forcing backwards the advances of two countries.

Aime Emmanuel Yoka, Congolese minister delegate in charge of cooperation, said this contact will be a means to further strengthen relations between his country and Cuba.

PEACE MOVEMENT VOICES SOLIDARITY WITH KAMPUCHEA

FL281858 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] The Cuban Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of Peoples [MPSP] has issued a statement in this capital saluting the agreements achieved at the recent Phnom Penh conference of foreign ministers from the three Indo-Chinese countries. It stated that the foreign ministers studied the situation in Kampuchea-Thailand border and repudiated the accusations made by the imperialists and other reactionary forces that Kampuchean troops had attacked civilians and had crossed the Thai border. The statement concluded by saying that the MPSP once again expresses its solidarity with the heroic Kampuchean people who confront the attacks being launched by the remnants of the Pol Pot and protest U.S. aid to Thailand.

DOMINICA

CHARLES COMMENTS ON CARIBBEAN SECURITY AGREEMENT

FL282033 Bridgetown CANA in English 1803 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Roseau, Dominica, April 28, CANA -- Dominica has said that it does not see a security agreement it signed with four other Caribbean islands as a means of ensuring that democracy survives. "I don't see the memorandum of understanding that we signed as something for the purpose of keeping democratic governments in office. It is for the purpose among other things, of preventing people from outside coming and trying to put us out of our country," Dominica's Prime Minister and Minister of Security Eugenia Charles told a news conference here last night.

The security agreement, signed in Roseau late last year by Barbados, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Antigua and Barbuda, and Dominica, has been criticised by an opposition group here, the left-leaning Dominica Liberation Movement Alliance (DLMA), which said that the pact was aimed at keeping reactionary right-wing regimes in power. The party referred to a statement made by Antigua and Barbudas Prime Minister Vere Bird, who said that the agreement "is the insurance against the violent overthrow of democratically elected government."

But Miss Charles said: "Mr Vere Bird may see it to him as a means of keeping democratic governments in office," adding, "well if it can withstand (mercenaries) taking over the country, it is a means of keeping democratic governments in office." This was a reference to the attempt by a group of American mercenaries led by Michael Perdue to overthrow the Dominica Government by force of arms nearly two years ago.

Miss Charles said that contrary to opposition charges, agreement had been laid before Parliament at the "very first meeting of the House after the agreement was signed." She lamented the fact that hardly any mention was made of mutual assistance in the area of smuggling, sea rescue, and drug training for which the pact makes provision. Miss Charles said she felt the agreement "is very useful and I think necessary."

GRENADA

BISHOP TELLS JOURNALISTS OF U.S. 'THREAT'

PM281225 London AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR in English 23 Apr 83 pp 6

[Unattributed report on press conference held by Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in London on 16 April entitled: "Grenada 'Under Sustained Attack'"]

[Text] Maurice Bishop, the Prime Minister of Grenada, told journalists in London recently that his country was 'under sustained attack' by the Reagan administration and that the threat of U.S.-backed action against Grenada were both endangering Grenada's national security and threatening peace in the Caribbean.

The Grenadian leader warned of the U.S. threat to his country at a press conference held at a London hotel on April 16th flanked by Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman and Grenada's high commissioner in London, Fennis Augustine. Premier Bishop, in an open statement to the press, said that the U.S. Administration had tried to 'paint a negative image' of his country and that U.S. actions against Grenada were both endangering Grenada's national security and threatening peace in the Caribbean.

In view of this threat, which had grown in the previous weeks and months, Grenada has undertaken what Maurice Bishop described as a 'large scale initiative' to inform world opinion of the seriousness of the threat to his country. Both Grenada's Government and people are 'completely satisfied' with the progress of this initiative and 'international public opinion have responded sympathetically' to Grenadian calls for solidarity and support, Premier Bishop said.

Grenada has taken its campaign to inform the world of the scale of the threat to its independence to the Organisation of American States and to various countries around the world, including the United States, Canada and Britain as well as several countries in Western Europe. Premier Bishop said that pickets and rallies in support of Grenada had taken place in several American cities, including New York, Washington, San Francisco and Philadelphia, while similar rallies have also taken place in London and elsewhere.

Popular, as opposed to government, support for Grenada is particularly strong in the Caribbean region, Bishop said, and the conclusion which the Grenadian Government had drawn from this, and from the support given Grenada in other parts of the world is that the peoples of the world are 'genuinely concerned' about the U.S. threat to this small Caribbean island with a population of not much more than one hundred thousand people.

'We remain certain that the threat' of U.S.-backed action against Grenada is very real', Bishop said, and the CIA is presently organizing what he called 'counter-revolutionary gangs' for the purpose of destabilising Grenada. In this connection, Grenada's Prime Minister pointedly referred to the current U.S.-backed rebel incursion in Nicaragua.

Airport

The largest economic project now underway in Grenada is the construction of its first international airport, essential for a country whose economy is largely dependent on tourism. At the moment, travellers to Grenada have to transit through Barbados and later in the press conference Maurice Bishop referred to the difficulties some travellers encounter while in transit.

The project is thus of great importance to Grenada and, referring to U.S. allegations about the airport's supposed military utility once completed, Bishop said that his country had an absolute 'sovereign right' to build it. It is hoped to have the airport operational by next March, so that its opening can coincide with the fifth anniversary of the Grenadian revolution.

Questions from the press focused on the U.S. threat to Grenada and on the way this threat had developed. Maurice Bishop answered these questions fully and noted the inconsistency of the American attitude towards his country. Before the recent invasion threats, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was said to have authorized the accreditation to Grenada of U.S. diplomatic representatives in Barbados. This seemed to indicate a shift in the U.S. attitude and the later threatening statements by several U.S. Administration officials had sounded a distinctly contradictory note.

Prime Minister Bishop commented on this saying that the basic U.S. attitude towards Grenada had always been hostile. In August 1981, the U.S. Navy staged the 'Amber and the Amberdines' exercise which the American Rear-Admiral McKenzie had publicly confirmed at a press conference in Puerto Rico as being directed against Grenada. U.S.-Grenadian relations had been characterised by periods of 'ebb and flow', Bishop said, and before the recent contradictory shifts in bilateral relations, Bishop had written twice to President Reagan, in March and then in August 1981, asking for improved relations.

No Reply

Bishop said that he had pointed out to Reagan that more American tourists visit Grenada each year than the sum total of the entire Grenadian population and that there were one thousand U.S. citizens permanently resident in Grenada. Bishop said he told Reagan that there was 'no possible reason' for Grenada to worsen relations with America. But, despite his efforts to prevent a worsening of relations, there was 'no reply to either letter', Bishop said and subsequent events had confirmed that the Shultz initiative last year had been 'a red herring'.

Both Reagan and several administration officials, including Vice President Bush, Defense Secretary Weinberger and his underling Nestor D. Sanchez, had made hostile statements between January and March 1983 which confirmed, as Bishop said, that there had in fact been 'no movement forward at all, that if anything, things had gotten worse'. The Shultz initiative he dismissed as consequently having been no more than 'a tactical manoeuvre'.

The United States bases its claim that Grenada, under its present government, constitutes a 'threat' to its security on the fact that 50 percent of its oil and 40 percent of its bauxite is transported to the United States via sealanes which lie in close proximity to Grenada, Bishop said. 'Maybe one answer is to move the country to Africa,' he laconically added, to the amusement of all those present. The United States fears Grenada because of the political example set by its revolution, especially the impact of this example on American blacks, Bishop said.

Grenada's Foreign Policy is one of nonalignment, Maurice Bishop said, and it was in the light of this that 'warm, friendly, principled' relations had been developed with Cuba. Grenada had an absolute right to develop relations with any country it chose. It did not tell the United States whom to have relations with, and the United States should not do the same with Grenada, Bishop said. The 'minimum meaning' of equality between nations is that they have the right to develop relations with whichever country they so wish. He noted that after the revolution in March 1979, Cuba had advised Grenada against developing close relations with it, for fear of the consequences for U.S.-Grenadian relations. But Grenada had chosen to develop such relations as a demonstration of its right to determine its own foreign policy.

With the United States Too...

Asked later about Grenada's relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, Premier Bishop confirmed that good relations with these countries existed, but he said that Grenada was just as keen to develop good relations with Western countries, the U.S. included. Just as cooperation agreements had been signed with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, so also a similar agreement had been signed with France.

Referring earlier to Britain, which had ruled Grenada for 350 years prior to nominal independence in 1974, although the Thatcher government had been very consistent in its refusal to develop relations with Grenada Bishop said that the British attitude was 'by no means one of complete hostility' and that there was room for developing better relations with Britain.

The claims which America had made about alleged Cuban and Soviet military activity on Grenada were simply 'fantastic,' Bishop said. The United States had claimed, at various times, that a missile base was under construction in Grenada, that a Soviet naval base was being developed and even that underground excavations with a military purpose were underway. The United States knows the facts, Bishop said, and almost daily U.S. spy flights will have confirmed that nothing untoward is going on in Grenada.

Invasion

All these allegations were part of an 'overall plan of laying the basis for an eventual invasion of our country' if other means of overthrowing the Grenadian Government failed to achieve their objective, Bishop said. He later said that at the beginning of April, U.S. warships had ventured to within two miles of Grenada's coast, which had contravened even the United States' interpretation of territorial waters' limits. The United States recognises three mile limits, most countries have twelve mile limits.

After noting with satisfaction the failure of U.S.-instigated efforts to have Grenada expelled from Caricom last year, and how 'the hunters became the hunted' at the organisation's Ocho Rios summit, Maurice Bishop turned to the political future of Grenada's revolution and democracy. He said that the latter is being guaranteed by respect for five basic necessities. These are, firstly, government accountability; secondly, the government's responsibility to take account of popular feeling; thirdly, the people's right to participate in a new people's democracy -- Bishop noted that elections do not guarantee democracy; fourthly, the need for tangible political and material benefits such as free health care and education and freedom from unemployment; and, fifthly, provision for an election which will follow a referendum on a new constitution.

Premier Bishop vigorously defended his government's human rights record, comparing it with that of the previous regime. Of those opposed to the revolution arrested after March, 1979, all but a handful have been charged, Bishop said. Others in detention were involved in subsequent violence against the state, including the bomb blast on June 19th, 1980, which had caused the deaths of three young women and injuries to a further 97 people. All the accused in that case have been charged, tried and convicted and some are now appealing against their sentences. The Grenadian authorities have not instituted the death penalty and neither has there been any torture. Those arrested since the revolution on various charges have 'not been scratched,' Bishop said. The previous Gairy regime's infamous 'Mongoose Gang,' by comparison, had both murdered and intimidated the regime's opponents.

'Absolutely No Respect'

Commenting on President Reagan's hostility to Grenada and other countries, Maurice Bishop said that 'Reagan thinks he is a crusader' and that he has shown himself to have 'absolutely no respect' not just for Grenada, but also for his own allies and organisations like the Red Cross, which has been aiding the victims of the war in El Salvador. Reagan's dream, Bishop said, is of 'constructing a new Pax Americana, in fact a Pax Reagana.'

Grenada is a small country (10 miles by 12 miles) yet it had achieved impressive results in its mass literacy campaign and also in other fields, such as public health care and overall economic development; Grenada had negative growth in 1979 and in 1982 it had growth of 5.5 percent -- the highest in the Caribbean, Bishop said.

For all Grenada's smallness, its people are determined to defend its revolution and Maurice Bishop affirmed that Grenada's people have the capacity, through their small army and larger militias, to defend a revolution which, as Bishop said, has made the average Grenadian simply 'feel good'.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

GOVERNMENT CONSIDERING AID FACILITY REDUCTION

FL290037 Bridgetown CANA in English 2345 GMT 28 Apr 83

[By Rudi Williams]

[Text] Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, April 28, CANA -- Oil-rich Trinidad and Tobago, which loaned nearly half a billion dollars (1 TT dollar; 41 cents U.S.) for economic development in the English-speaking Caribbean in the last seven years, has been reviewing its aid programme because of its worsened economic situation and bleak prospects for an early improvement, according to a government spokesman, Frank Barsotti.

"With the decline in oil prices and the consequent tightening fiscal situation, the scale of lending under (two aid) facilities is at present being reviewed," Barsotti, permanent secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Planning, told Caribbean economic planners' meeting here.

He said a fall in oil crude prices on the world market from 34 dollars (U.S.) to 29 dollars (U.S.), as well as an oil glut and the attendant cutback in production and refining here had worsened the economic position of the twin-island state, whose main source of foreign exchange is the petroleum sector.

Last year Trinidad and Tobago's visible balance of trade had also swung into a deficit position for the first time in 10 years, the difference being 1.5 billion dollars (TT), and foreign reserves declined by 500 million dollars (TT). "Given the persistance of recessionary conditions in the world economy and the recent fall in oil prices," Barsotti remarked, "no significant improvement is expected in the Trinidad and Tobago situation in the immedi e future."

Barsotti estimated Trinidad and Tobago's lending to other Caribbean Community (Caricom) member countries at more than 487 million dollars (TT) between 1975 and 1981. They were made available through a Caribbean Aid Council the twin-island state set up in 1978 to provide financing in such areas as food production, housing, industrial development and basic infrastructure, and through a three-year-old Caricom oil facility which has helped borrowers meet the increasing cost of petroleum products, fertilizers and asphalt.

Loans made available through the aid council up to end of 1982 totalled 35 million dollars (TT). By the end of last September 186 million dollars (TT) had been made available through the oil facility, Barsotti reported. He told the planners that Trinidad and Tobago had a long history of commitment to helping economic development in the Caribbean community.

Last year, crude oil production here totalled 64.6 million barrels, a seven percent drop in 1981 figures. Trinidadian economists said the world market oil price cut would most likely cause the islands to lose between 500 and 600 million dollars (TT) this year. Production was also expected to fall in 1983, compounding the losses, they said.